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American Name Society, P.O. Box 567
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Surnames of Trans-Allegheny Virginia
1750—1800 I

W. E. MOCKLER

Aim and Scope of the Inquiry

THE PRESENT WORK is primarily projected as an etymological and phonological investigation of the surnames in use on America's first English-speaking trans-Appalachian frontier. A secondary object is the elucidation of such ethnographical, sociological, and linguistic problems as the material at hand may incidentally reveal. In the study, I have endeavored to bring under scrutiny all surnames and surname derivatives[1] in use in northwestern Virginia before the close of the Revolution, to examine scientifically their constituent elements, and to observe their metamorphosis over a period of fifty years. Official public records comprise the principal name sources.

Most valuable of these documentary materials are accounts of District and Circuit court proceedings (1771)[2]; reports of commissioners on adjustment of claims to unpatented lands (1779)[3]; land entry books (1780)[3]; surveyors' records and indexes of survey (1781);[3] certifications of public claims describing non-military services rendered during the Revolution (1782); and enumerations of family heads in the Virginia State Census (1782). Such subsidiary sources as estray[4] books, lists of tithable property, calendars of

[1] Place names containing personal names of which there is otherwise no contemporary record.

[2] Actual date at which manuscript record begins.

[3] Earliest references are to land entered in 1766. A more detailed account of sources is to be found at the end of the introduction and in the bibliography.

[4] An "estray" is a farm animal found wandering from its owner. Court records include detailed descriptions of such animals.

wills, marriage records, and cemetery readings provide the necessary materials for extending the survey of name modifications to and beyond 1800.

Geographically, this inquiry is confined to that portion of the old land division of West Augusta known as Monongalia. When Augusta County, Virginia, was formed in 1738, it included most of present-day West Virginia. In 1776, however, the region of Augusta west of the Alleghenies, which for years prior to the Revolution had been familiarly known as West Augusta[5], was by an Act of the Virginia Assembly[6] officially set apart as the District of West Augusta and by the same act divided into the three counties of Monongalia, Ohio, and Yohogania. Monongalia—largest, most mountainous, and most isolated of the three—included the northern half of West Virginia lying west of the meridian of the head fountain of the Potomac and east of a line following the watershed between the Ohio and Monongahela and, to the southwest, the Ohio itself. From it have been taken all or parts of twenty-two counties in West Virginia and three in Pennsylvania.

The period and the region invite linguistic study for two principal reasons: 1. Into this "back-yard" of the colonies came together for the first time pioneers from Maryland, Virginia, and the South to intermingle with a backwash of settlers from the more northern colonies. Scotch, Scotch-Irish, English, and Germans, along with a sprinkling of South Irish, Welsh, and Dutch, came to live not in closed communities but as neighbors. Here was to be found a heterogeneous population undominated by any single national stock or by any one culture or institution and yet not altogether free of older traditional ways and rivalries. In the resultant amalgamation of these impingent groups the language was forced to condition itself to a new environment. 2. Following initial settlement there was no great population shift within Monongalia. The presence of a mountain barrier between seaboard and Transmontane and the lack of any important east-west communication link set the region apart. Eighteenth-century language patterns thus preserved sometimes remained fixed, sometimes took directions deviating from the normal American development.

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[5] Josiah Hughes, *Pioneer West Virginia*, p. 43.

[6] William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX, 262.

Any regional study of the English language in colonial America may well begin with names: only they appear in the sufficiency of number and the variety of form necessary for a consideration of many early habits of language generally.

The Value of Surname Study

The manifold value of scientific investigation in the realm of English onomatology has come to be fully realized only since the beginning of the present century. The systematic study of place names (and subsequently of surnames) is based upon the foundation laid by Skeat, who advocated for such study the methods pursued by the etymologist.[7] Justification of his methods may be seen in the contributions of the English Place-Name Society under Mawer and Stenton,[8] in the Uppsala studies in English nomenclature under Zachrisson, and in kindred studies at Lund under Ekwall. All reveal the light that English place names shed not only upon the language but also upon the history of a people and their institutions.

In more recent decades the scholar again using the tools of the etymologist and frequently the base provided by place name endeavor has turned his attention to specialized study in the field of the English personal and family name. This is a natural consequence, for of English surnames not fewer than forty percent[9] are local derivatives and as such form the largest of the four classes into which surnames are grouped. Löfvenberg's volume on Middle English topographical surnames[10] points the way to a utilization of the great body of place name productivity. At the same time, work in the Old English personal name[11] pursued extensively by Björkman,[12] Redin,[13] von Feilitzen,[14] and Ström,[15] has produced basic data

[7] *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, Part I, ed. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, p. 2.

[8] The most recent being Vol. XXII—*The Place-Names of Cumberland*, Part III, 1952.

[9] An estimate based upon an analysis of names appearing in the London Directory (1870) actually reaches forty-two per cent for local names. The remainder approximate thirty per cent for baptismal, nineteen per cent for official and hypocoristic (the two combine to form the class called descriptive), and nine per cent for occupational names. See Charles W. Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 2.

[10] Mattias T. Löfvenberg, *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames.*

[11] "Personal" here is defined as "given" or "baptismal" name.

[12] E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit* (Halle, 1910); *Studien über die Eigennamen im Beowulf* (Halle, 1920).

[13] M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919).

[14] Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book.*

[15] Hilmer Ström, *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History.*

regarding a second composite of surnames—that which derives from the baptismal or given name. Materials have been made available in the writings of Björkman on Old English bynames,[16] and more recently of Tengvik[17] in the same field, for the study of yet another class of surnames—the descriptive—as well as of the other types. And again in the Middle English period the investigation of Fransson[18] in occupational names has opened the way for study of the fourth and final class of surnames. These and Ekwall's prolusions on the medieval surname[19] illustrate that primary tenet of scientific approach to both place name and surname: a satisfactory interpretation can be made only after the earliest forms of a name have been adduced.[20]

Like the place name scholar, the student of folknames has lent assistance to the historian, sociologist, anthropologist, and linguist. The value of the surname, for instance, as a barometer of sociological conditions is exemplified in Ekwall's evidence that apprentices in medieval London not infrequently discarded inherited surnames in order to adopt those of their employers.[21] In another area, Löfvenberg has drawn upon the Middle English toponymical surname for information concerning the dialects of the different counties and for data pertaining to the history of English sounds.[22] Elsewhere, Fransson has demonstrated that abundant material is afforded by Middle English surnames for the history of the English vocabulary. He points to the omission in the *NED* of more than two hundred words designating occupational names that survived only in surnames.[23] And, further, he finds in some fifty name words instances of common nouns that antedate the *NED*'s first recorded entries by three hundred or more years.[24]

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[16] In his *Nordische Personennamen* and in *Zur Englischen Namenkunde* (Halle, 1912).

[17] Gösta Tengvik, *Old English Bynames.*

[18] Gustav Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation 1100–1350.*

[19] Eilert Ekwall, *Studies on English Place- and Personal Names*; *Variations in Surnames in Medieval London.*

[20] This does not mean that the more general works of Bardsley, Harrison, and others have been superseded. Rather, they have been opened to revision and supplementation.

[21] *Variations in Surnames in Medieval London,* pp. 12–36.

[22] *Op. cit.,* pp. xli, xlii, *et passim.*

[23] *Op. cit.,* pp. 32, 33, *et passim.*

[24] *Ibid.*

That these same—and other—values attach to American nomenclature in its early period seems a legitimate premise. To seek such values by extending the methods of English place and personal name scholarship is the specific object of this investigation.

1. First of all, the collection and full examination of the surnames found in eighteenth-century trans-Allegheny Virginia will aid in the identification of modern surnames, many of which cannot be correctly explained without early instances. It is noteworthy to find, for example, 'Becker' and 'Van Camp' existing beside 'Baker' and 'Camp' until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the forms syncretize as 'Baker' and 'Camp.' Name variants thus supply data for determining the national origins of the pioneers. Sometimes, with regard to etymology, the investigation produces what appear to be negative results because alternative possibilities prevent close identification. I have pointed out etymologies, however, even when they are not convincing, in order to cast as much light as possible upon the name in focus. Occasionally, too, when distinctions usually seen in the etymon do not appear, a basis for establishing origins is provided by phonological clues presented in alternate spellings.

2. Within the large body of English surnames brought to attention, an effort has also been made to determine regional origins. Here, again, forms and spellings are of value in identifying names from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, or the South; for Middle English dialectal differences still find reflection in surnames: e.g., 'Carlton' and 'Charlton,' 'Ellison' and 'Allison,' 'Burkham' and 'Burcham.' In view of recent efforts in that direction, it would seem that a correlation of ethnological and linguistic backgrounds will eventually be requisite for the thorough analysis of present-day American dialects.[25]

3. In similar fashion, early surname spellings, especially variations over a period of years, will prove of interest in another branch of philological study. Most types of word—no matter how unique the pronunciation of a region—conform to the generally accepted rules of orthography and hence, to the literate person, are invariable. With no present sense or connotation in themselves, surnames

[25] See, among others, Charles Carpenter, "The Evolution of Our Dialect," *The West Virginia Review*, VII (1929),9; Cleanth Brooks, *The Relation of the Alabama-Georgia Dialect to the Provincial Dialects of Great Britain* (Baton Rouge, La., 1935).

must stand merely as sounds, even to the clerk who records them. The resultant irregular spellings provide one of the chief keys to the phonetics of early American English.

4. Another contribution of surname study concerns lexicographical matters. Surviving in surnames are many Old and Middle English words that have passed out of use. It is not impossible that early American surnames, some of which are extinct in Britain, preserve old words and meanings not otherwise recorded. 'Beak' is an English surname which Bardsley is unable to identify.[26] In early land records of western Virginia is found 'Beakwade,' a surname no longer traditional. The second element (*wade* or *wath*, 'a ford') points significantly to the first as the Northern dialect *beek*, 'a rivulet'.[27] With *beak* thus clarified in a dithematic name, it is not illogical to assume that often when it appears as monothematic, the meaning is the same.

5. Only a few remarks need be made here on the value of surnames in place name study. The situation in America reverses that in England where surnames did not establish themselves until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (in Wales not until the sixteenth) and where, as was noted earlier, a high proportion of surnames were adopted local names. Here, on the other hand, as many as sixty percent[28] of our place names derive from baptismal and family names. An interesting case is offered by the stream name 'Doll's Run.' One historian says that 'Doll' is an elliptical form of 'Dowdell.'[29] Another says that the second syllable of Rudolph Snider's given name supplied 'Doll.'[30] While the former seems the more likely explanation, it is not supported by the evidence that a study of personal names presents: Doll Snider ('Doll' alternates with 'Rudolph' in records from 1781) is found living on the stream both before it was dignified with a name and at the time its name came into use, while no 'Dowdell' appears in the early land records. Again, the necessity for a prior consideration of personal names may be seen in the stream name 'Gee Lick Run.' A writer of local

[26] *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 87.

[27] See James O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, I, 158.

[28] The figure is based on an analysis of the first one hundred twenty names appearing in Hamill Kenny's *West Virginia Place Names*.

[29] Jacob Horn, *The Horn Papers*, II, 519.

[30] Earl L. Core, *Chronicles of Core*, pp. 29–30.

history explains[31] that this run has been called 'G (or Gee) Lick' ever since the letter 'G' was found carved on a beech tree beside a spring here. A very early land claim, however, certifies Edward Ratliff to four hundred acres "on the left-hand fork of Freeman's Creek called Gee Lick Run, adjoining lands of *Gee* Bush, to include his improvement made in 1772."

6. Finally, the study of surnames is of value in itself, for surnames constitute an integral part of our vocabulary and as such deserve no less attention than other words. As Henry Bosley Woolf[32] sees the picture, "...the study of names has a well-nigh universal appeal. One finds comments on the subject in the news columns of metropolitan dailies, essays of a popular nature in magazines of wide circulation, and scholarly articles in the learned journals. Books, too, in an increasing stream come from the press, each one a treatment of some hitherto neglected phase of name-study; and yet more volumes on uninvestigated topics in the fields of personal- and place-names are needed and expected."

In what area of surname endeavor should the student concentrate his efforts? One answer appears in the final chapter of Mawer and Stenton's *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (Part I)[33] where the observation is made that the history of English personal nomenclature "is a history with an obscure beginning and a fragmentary end." The writer continues, "Its middle phase—the period between the seventh and eleventh centuries—is well understood....The beginning and the end of the history are no less important."

One may ask, further, where actually lies the end of surname history. If it is arbitrarily set with the close of the period in which surnames became hereditary, it is not far-distant in the past. Black[34] points to the fluid state of family nomenclature among the Scottish Highlanders even in the eighteenth century when a man was designated "not seldom by his father's and grandfather's, and great-grandfather's [given] names..."; and Lower,[35] quoting a contemporary, writes, "Why, the truth is, that they [surnames] are

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[31] See Kenny, p. 264.

[32] Henry Bosley Woolf, *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving*, p. 1.

[33] pp. 188–9.

[34] George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, p. xlii.

[35] Mark Antony Lower, *English Surnames*, p. 22.

not *now*, even in the nineteenth century, *fully* established in some parts of England. There are very few, for instance, of the miners of Staffordshire, who bear the names of their fathers." And if the end lies with the passing of morphological and phonological fluctuation, it is certainly nowhere in sight; for names today are constantly undergoing transformation.

The task of classifying and deriving surnames has only begun. The personal nomenclature of eighteenth-century trans-Allegheny Virginia is but a fragment in a lengthening strand. As long as people continue to carry names, it will have no end.

Origins and Forms

On the subject of pioneer origins, West Virginia historians agree that English, Scotch-Irish, and German represent the dominant strains among the settlers of the Trans-Allegheny. The figures, however, of those investigators who find in genealogical or etymological data a base for extending the analysis to proportional representations evidence a disparity.

Apparently working with traditional genealogical materials, Hughes[36] traces the ancestries of five hundred pioneer families scattered throughout the western Virginia counties. Maxwell,[37] who relies "more upon the origin of the name than upon any knowledge...of the history of the individual,"[38] devotes his attention to some eleven hundred early settlers in the Monongalia sub-region. Fast,[39] in a more limited inquiry, draws pertinent testimony from the biographical sketches of one hundred Monongalians represented in the *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopedia of Monongalia, Marion, and Taylor Counties.*[40] Although the approaches of the three to the subject are variant ones, sufficient common ground exists for drawing a comparison. Their findings, reduced to percentages, are given in Table I.

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[36] *Op. cit.*, pp. 109–123.

[37] Hu Maxwell, "Pioneers in Monongalia County," *Trans-allegheny Historical Magazine*, I (1902), 284–292.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[39] Richard Ellsworth Fast, "The Pioneers: Whence Came They?" *Trans-allegheny Historical Magazine*, I (1902), 205–208.

[40] Information in most cases was supplied by subjects themselves. The work appeared in 1895.

Table I: Pioneer Origins (Findings of Historians)

	Hughes	Maxwell	Fast
English	34%	18%	18%
Scotch-Irish and Scotch	23%	61%	21%
German	22%	8%	23%
Irish	8%	4%	
Welsh	5%		
French	3%		3%
Others or Unclassified	5%	7%	28%

Hughes and Fast reach essential agreement with regard to the Scotch-Irish (and Scotch), German, and French elements; Maxwell and Fast with respect to the English element; Hughes and Maxwell not at all. The aberrant figures are chiefly those of Maxwell.

That the genealogical sources upon which all three writers draw are not wholly reliable is made clear by Maxwell, himself, who states, "In my work in the field of county histories I have written brief biographies of several thousand persons whose ancestors lived in the original Monongalia County, and this store of information regarding families frequently assisted me. . . . I at least had at hand what the living representatives of the old families think of the matter. Often, however, they know very little about the nationality of their ancestors."[41] At the same time, Maxwell's survey—extensive and thorough as it is—reflects etymological conclusions that can only be vitiated by the writer's assertion that "I put no name down as Scotch or Scotch-Irish which did not stand the test of being found in good standing in Mr. Charles A. Hanna's new and most excellent work, *The Scotch-Irish*."[42] Apparently Maxwell's identification of almost two thirds of the West Virginia pioneers as Scotch or Scotch-Irish results from his failure to recognize that a high percent of the Lowland Scotch and Scotch-Irish names are common English surnames as well.

In the Table below I have set forth figures based solely upon linguistic evidence. While such evidence is by no means conclusive, it may help in establishing one fulcrum for the historian.

In the chart the proportion of English names looms large because no distinction can be made on purely etymological grounds between

[41] Maxwell, p. 290.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 291

Table II: Etymological Classification of the Surnames Found in the Monongalia Sub-Region Before the End of the Revolution

Traditional English 51%	Non-Traditional English 2%	Scottish 8%	Irish 4%	Welsh 2%
German 9%	French 1%	Dutch 1%	South European .5%	Indeterminate 21.5%

the Anglo-Saxon names of England and those of the Scottish Lowlands and Ulster, between English names and anglicized South Irish names,[43] and between certain English and Welsh names of baptismal origin. The residual problem, therefore, of the onomatologist becomes that of extending the classification of British (primarily English) surnames. It may find at least partial solution on linguistic evidence other than that involving the etymon or even the surname itself.

Evidence presented by local surnames may help in determining not only the frontiersman's British ancestral home, but also his first place of settlement in the colonies. Syllogistically, the matter can be put thus: It is certain that more than fifty per cent of the settlers in tidewater Virginia before 1700 were from the southern half of England;[44] but since the local surnames carried by the early inhabitants of the western slopes of the Alleghenies reflect a dissident pattern, the population cannot extensively represent the tidewater Virginia element. Concomitantly, two-thirds of the New England colonists before 1700 came from the south of England, especially the southeast;[45] hence, the stream of migration into the western Virginia wilderness shows no close kinship with the New England strain.

After noting this incidence of south English representation in eastern Virginia and New England, Professor Baugh says of the Middle Atlantic region,

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[43] The fashion of changing Irish into English surnames set in during the time of Edward IV (Woulfe, p. xxxii.)

[44] Albert C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language*, p. 451. Baugh quotes from the *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* prepared by Charles O. Paullin and John K. Wright, (Washington and New York, 1932), pp. 46–7.

[45] *Ibid.*

We unfortunately do not have the same sort of information about the early settlers in the middle colonies. But we are not without a basis for inference. We know that the Quakers played the principal part in the settlements along the Delaware, and that this sect had its largest following in the north of England and the north Midlands. We should expect a good many of the settlers in eastern Pennsylvania and the adjacent parts of New Jersey and Delaware to have come from the northern half of England. We know also that large numbers of Scotch-Irish settled in Pennsylvania and were later prominent in the settlement of parts of the South and the West....It would seem likely that the population of the Middle States was much more northern than that of New England and Virginia, and that the prominence of the Scotch-Irish in the constant advance of the western frontier was an influential factor in carrying the form of English spoken in the Middle colonies into the newer territories of the West and in making this speech the basis of General American.[46]

Elsewhere Professor Baugh states that West Virginia was largely settled from western Pennsylvania and seems to belong dialectically with Pennsylvania.[47]

The present investigation lends support to the general conclusions of Professor Baugh. Two corollary details of specific concern to the Monongalia area, however, cannot be overlooked:

1) Paullin and Wright find that the English counties sending the greatest number of settlers to tidewater Virginia were Gloucester, Kent, Yorkshire, and Lancaster.[48] Worthy of note is the fact that three of these—Yorkshire, Lancaster, and Gloucester -are among the four counties contributing most liberally to the local surnames of Monongalia.

2) There is little to indicate that the number of Scotch-Irish settlers in the Monongalia region was proportionately as large as it may have been elsewhere on the frontier. There is certainly nothing in the body of surnames *per se* to support the statement of John Fiske, the historian, that at one time the Scotch-Irish formed almost the entire population of West Virginia.[49]

Finally, while undoubtedly revealing a north English and Scottish nucleus, the surnames as a group show most palpably the heterogeneous nature of the population of the Monongalia pocket. The same diversity is noticeable for American regional origins, where the figures of Professor Fast[50] may serve as an epitome. This historian finds that of one hundred pioneer Monongalia County

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 451–452. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 448. [48] *Ibid.*, p. 450.
[49] Fast, p. 207. [50] *Ibid.*

families, ancestry can be traced to Pennsylvania for thirty-four, to Virginia (chiefly the Shenandoah Valley) for twenty-six, to Maryland for eleven, to New Jersey for eight, to Delaware for seven, and to New England for one.

Forms

However diverse their origins, the British and continental surnames planted in early western Virginia became subject to the same processes of evolution; and in the course of adapting to the frontier environment, many of these surnames underwent limited change of form. Certain deviations are significant only so far as they point to phonological changes that follow definitely established sound laws. Others are loosely defined permutations that reflect loss of a uniform standard. The former—vagrant and usually impermanent—serve chiefly as indices to pronunciation. The latter may be marked as tendencies toward new and permanent patterns of morphological development. They are as follows:

Initial Variation

a. Prothesis:

Ackford	Hackford
Artman	Hartman
Askins	Haskins
Azel	Hazel

b. Aphaeresis:

DeBerry	Berry
Lemasters	Masters
MacGuire	Guire
McMahon	Mahon
McNeal	Neal
McWilliams	Williams
O'Cochran	Cochran
O'Glesby	Glesby
Van Camp	Camp
Van Sickle	Sickle

Medial Variation

a. Epenthesis:

d Winslow	Windslow
Rogers	Rodgers
e Cotrell	Coterell
Henry	Henrey
Judy	Judey
Kelly	Kelley
Murphy	Murphey
Petty	Pettey
Roby	Robey
p Tomson	Thompson
s Hawkinberry	Hawkinsberry
Hollingworth	Hollingsworth
Soverns	Saversons
t Harness	Hartness
y Grable	Graybill
Graham	Grayham

b. Syncope:

Cartwright	Cutright
Colburn	Cobun
Codwalleader	Codwaller
Downward	Donnard
Dunaway	Donnay
Goodwin	Goodin
Harrington	Herenton
Isenor	Isner
Templeton	Templin
Richardson	Richason
Washburn	Washbun

c. Substitution:

Hiley	Highly
Huff	Hough
Kane	Kain
Louther	Lowther
More	Moore
Morriss	Maurice
Orr	Owr
Prather	Prator
Radcliff	Ratcliff
Rhodes	Roads
Salisbury	Salisberry
Slater	Slaughter
Spurgeon	Spurgin
Snyther	Snyder
Veach	Veatch
Wamsley	Wansley
Wilmoth	Wilmouth

Final Variation

a. Epithesis:

d	Eckerlin	Eckerland
	Freeman	Freemund
	McClelan	McCleland
	Mcfarlen	McFarland
	[Waller]	Wallard
	Worl	World
e	Ford	Forde
	Low	Lowe
	Troy	Troye
g	Owens	Owings
	Hadden	Hadding
	Jenkins	Jenkings
	Hutchins	Hutchings
	Rainey	Raning

s Bayne	Baines
Beek	Beeks
Bigg	Biggs
Coon	Coons
Dakin	Deakins
Daugherty	Doughities
Eckerlin	Eckerlands
Goudie	Goudeys
Griffith	Griffiths
Grigg	Griggs
Hain	Hains, **Hanes**
Hay	Hays
Hendrick	Hendricks
Hughes	Huses
Hutchin	Hutchings
Lafavour	Lefevors
Lemaster	Lemasters
McCollum	McCollums
Minnie	Minnis
Power	Powers
Richard	Richards
Severn	Severns
Stout	Stouts
William	Williams
Wood	Woods
t Hacker	Hackert
Patten	Pattent
Robison	Robisont

b. Apocope:

Copeland	Copelan
Holland	Hollan
Nevill	Nevil
Norriss	Norris

c. Substitution:

Harbert	Harbard
Marchant	Marchand
Stewart	Steward

Stuart	Stuard
Rees	Reece
Tegarden	Tegards
Metathesis	
Cracraft	Corecraft
Province	Purviance
Tomlinson	Tomelson
Transposition	
Estell	Estle
Pindall	Pindle
Division	
Cartwright	Cart Right
Hogmire	Hog Mire

★ ★ ★

Another Bombay. – Lewis Heck's discussion of Bombay, Delaware, reminds me of Bombay in Midland County, Michigan. It was the location of the general store of Kelley Brothers. At this place the drifters of the old Wright and Ketchum logging camps were accustomed to meet. It developed into a loafers hangout, which the settlers called in derision "Bums Bay". Later, as the logged over land was settled by farmers, the latter failed to see the elegance of such nomenclature and the name was changed to Bombay.

Theodore G. Foster.

Namelore in Latin America III

JACK A. DABBS

CONTINUING THE SURVEY of name studies in Latin America (*Names* September 1953 and December 1954), this work completes the background with material on Mexico and Peru omitted from the earlier publications because of the length of these sections. It includes also some items on other countries more properly placed in "Namelore in Latin America II" but postponed because of inadequate data, or items called to the compiler's attention since appearance of the earlier parts. Again, entries marked with the asterisk indicate those obtained indirectly, not personally examined by the compiler.

This compilation has concentrated on anthroponymy and toponymy, omitting as a rule works on such topics as plant names, animal names, or names of cultural objects.

Each nation of Latin America now has its representation in a section of the bibliography devoted primarily to it, with the exception of Paraguay, for which specific data either has escaped the the compiler's attention or still awaits publication. So far the best sources for Paraguayan place-name references remain items 3 and 12. In addition, geographical dictionaries or similar studies of the bordering countries often include parts of Paraguay within their compass.

No bibliography can ever be considered complete, and doubtless a number of published articles and books still await listing. Also a tremendous amount of documentary material exists that treats of names but incidental to the main purpose of the work. Other such works probably lie hidden in obscure periodicals and newspapers whose limited access makes them almost as rare as manuscripts. But although the items in this bibliography vary widely in length,

coverage, and importance, it no doubt furnishes a fair representation of works published primarily as discussions of or source material for names.

The number of name studies shown in proportion to the total population of the nation (or other geographical entity) offers an interesting view of the distribution, and only very roughly do the size and population correspond to the amount of study done. Arranged by the latest population estimates (shown by millions), the number of published works has this distribution:

By Population:	*No. of Items:*		*By Population:*	*No. of Items:*	
Brazil	(52.5)	48	Dominican Rep.	(2.1)	1
Mexico	(24.1)	152	El Salvador	(2.0)	10
Argentina	(17.1)	42	Paraguay	(1.4)	0
Colombia	(11.2)	20	Honduras	(1.2)	18
Peru	(8.4)	53	Nicaragua	(1.2)	2
Chile	(5.8)	17	Panama	(.7)	3
Cuba	(5.2)	5	Costa Rica	(.7)	5
Venezuela	(4.9)	11	British Honduras		
Bolivia	(4.0)	3	and Guiana	(.5)	2
Guatemala	(3.6)	12	Martinique	(.3)	1
Haiti	(3.3)	4	Surinam	(.2)	1
Ecuador	(3.0)	10	French Guiana		
			and Inini	(.03)	1
Uruguay	(2.8)	9	Antilles not other-		
Puerto Rico	(2.1)	1	wise provided for		4

Considering size and population, the countries that seem the most inadequately studied are Paraguay, Bolivia, Cuba, Brazil, Nicaragua, Panama, Puerto Rico, Surinam, and Venezuela.

Of all these areas the ones with largest percentage of Indian population are Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, Guatemala, and Venezuela. These areas in particular need more study as an aid to linguistic history as well as political. In areas like Argentina and Uruguay, where Indian names have gone with the Indians, a greater problem exists in recalling how and under what conditions the old names disappeared.

In all Latin American areas the Indian family names have tended to disappear in favor of Spanish or Portuguese with two notable

exceptions: Parts of Brazil and the Yucatán Peninsula. No one has yet adequately described or explained this movement in published form.

In toponymy the colonial period brought European names that functioned as a vast superstratum, blanketing the whole area and competing with Indian names. In the Period of Independence and continuing yet, the flow of religious names and repetitions of Spanish place names has nearly ceased, with the substitution of still another sparsely-spread superstratum of names of local heroes and famous leaders. This general picture appears clear, but the details still await a great deal of study and description, isolating areas where the generalization does not apply, and following the development as it varied under local conditions and so contributed to the diversity and individuality of these nations today. These examples only point the way to some of the myriad problems that challenge the study of names and which gives onomatology a chance to contribute to an understanding of Latin American culture and geography.

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Some Semantics of Onomancy

P. W. F. BROWN

> Consult the Mirror of Names: its hidden meanings are keys to many doors.
>
> Philo Judaeus.

ELSEWHERE I HAVE SUGGESTED there were elements of magic and superstition in name formation.[1] One is Animism. "Because of the young child's limited experience," says Elizabeth Hinlock,[2] "he does not distinguish between living and inanimate objects. On the contrary, he believes, as do many primitive peoples, that all objects have the same life qualities that one finds in human beings" —they are animate. "As a child," wrote a correspondent to the press, "I believed umbrellas came to life at night and roamed about the house."[3] A frightening experience—a shock of any kind—when the eyes gaze on any particular object will associate fright with what holds the eye. Here is the principle of cause and effect—a natural quality of the human mind. The phrases "cause and effect" and "association of ideas" seem to mean much the same, but they do not properly express the instantaneous linking of sudden, frantic emotion with an object on which all attention is concentrated. The pattern for the linking is, as it were, prearranged: there is no time lag. The result has in some measure the quality of 'action'—of Plank's constant *h*.

This instantaneous quality seems to be the chief ingredient of the primitive animism that gives rise to names with special significance. A significance associated with an emotion of explosive character. When such names are translated into another language,

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[1] "Names Magic," *Names* Vol. 2, pp. 21–27.

[2] Eliz. B. Hinlock, *Child Development*, 1950, p. 394.

[3] Mrs. L. O., *Reveille*, 31. 4. 55.

or they are corrupted with time and overlaid by later events, they often convey an entirely different meaning to the original animism. Not only is this true of names as such, but of stories too.

An interesting investigation made some time ago into the origin of the "Pied Piper of Hamlin" story shows the phases through which an original animism can go to produce a myth.[4] Though the story has been linked with the Children's Crusade of 1212, the earliest version being 1259, in essentials it is very much older than that. There are many tales all over the world of music charming pests away or of presaging death. Orpheus charms the warriors and animals of Thrace, and David the demons of Saul. The idea underlies Dr. F. W. Faber's hymn (*No. 221 A & M*), "Hark, hark my soul. Angelic songs are swelling." The myths of the Elfenreigen and the Odyssian Sirens are parallel. The roots of these myths are the noises of the wind in the trees and on the sea, held by some to be the souls of the dead—especially unbaptized children – passing by. The wind in the willows coming from all directions as a chequer board, through animism becomes Apollo Smintheus – the musical ratcatcher of Phrygia. Even the traditional name of the piper – Bunting supports the idea: for it is from the German *bunt*, 'variegated, pied or chequered.'

But this natural change from instant animism through myths steeped in history and change, is sometimes stifled in the modern world. Political equality in its exuberance, has arrived coincidently with a more complicated life, and the detritus of this, a sometimes soulless bureaucracy. It has produced a kind of snob name. The late King George VI, when visiting Cornwall in 1950, expressed his amusement when introduced to the local rat-catcher as "our Rodent Officer." At once sly smiles were reflected in the National Press, which called the new name pompous. Immediately hundreds of letters poured into editors in protest. One lady wrote, "Far from being a rat-catcher, Ours is a Rodent Officer and a Gentleman."[5]

But postmen too no longer have this as an official description. Now they are called "Delivery Officers" and "Collecting Officers",[6]

[4] S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 1888, p. 417ff.

[5] Mrs. S. T., *The Star*, 24. 5. 50.

[6] "Cassandra," *The Daily Mirror*, 6. 8. 53.

and men who pass a course in the use of tools to maintain the London busses are called "Unit Adjusters" instead of mechanics.[7] But such gobbledegook is not perpetrated only by officialdom. One day the plumber came to mend the tap and brought his mate; next day the electrician came to mend the telephone and brought his colleague. Yet I do not despair that our language will be ruined by such absurdities. In 1864 *Chambers Every Day Book* was a popular work. Talking of May Day customs the author wrote of the "enthronization of the May Queen." This did not prevent the enthroning of Queen Elizabeth II.

But the snob name seems to have invaded Africa. This seems to be an extension of the idea of changing ones name on baptism already mentioned elsewhere. Among some native African girls who recently sat for an examination were: Victoria Beauty Ntom Ntom; Pepita Jority Junky Joyce Nonkonyana; Zenobia Toylet Delila Toys, Virginia Violin Viola Viedge Mlotywa; and Aximony Abyssinia Girl Mkandwana.[8]

One of the studies that will give a clue, not only to the formation of names but also the original meaning, is the study of nicknames and petnames. As I have suggested, a nickname is often a special name to distinguish particular persons, the result perhaps of an urge to be unique. Sometimes this is urgently necessary. A woman writes: " I live with four Jimmies: my brother, Big Jimmy; his son, Middle Jimmy; my son, Little Jimmy; and my husband Jimmy Lynn. If I just call "Jimmy," they all shout "Which?"[9]

Another wrote: "Arthur, my husband, a friend and I, visited a country inn. When our friend called for a drink for Arthur it was very expensive: all of seven men standing at the bar were called Arthur."[10]

A similar necessity occurs in Wales. Here different surnames are few—so some means of telling one Jones, or one Thomas from very many others is urgent. The system adopted is to use a nickname as a sort of surname. These are often from occupations just as Palmer, Fletcher, Smith and Forrester originated. Until recently there were thousands of differently named occupations in the Welsh coal mines, and as most of the population in South

[7] *Sunday Despatch*, 3. 7. 55, p. 2.
[8] *The Daily Mirror*, 27. 1. 55.
[9] Mrs. J. Lynn, *Reveille*, 16. 3. 55.
[10] *Reveille*, 17. 5. 55.

Wales were miners there were plenty of occupational nicknames to choose from.

Some of the names are very interesting: "Shoni Merlin" means Johnny Ponies—John who looks after pit ponies; "Dai Small Coal" is David who works in small coal; while William working in a Stone-coal seam is "Billy Stone Coal." Will Machine is, of course, a check weigher; a haulier "Dic Cwm-up"; and "Jack Lampo" is a lampman. Idiosyncracies and habits too produce another set of nick-surnames. A man whose favourite expression is 'Fair Play' from "Cheviarae-teg" becomes "Willi Warateg." "Billo-by-the-Lamp" is William who habitually leans against a street lamp post. "Dai Ding Dong" is a bell ringer, and "Idris Red Hot" has red hair. "Morgan Double Power" is a powerful chap, "Twm Pregethwr" is Thomas the Lay Preacher, "Shoni Minty" sucks peppermints, and "Jack Sais" is an Englishman, Sais being the Welsh equivalent of the Scottish Sassenach.[11]

But it is not only in the Welsh mining districts that such nick-surnames occur. People who travel together daily on train or bus seldom speak to one another, partly because of the noise. Yet they often have private nick-surnames for their fellow travellers. The same happens in shops and restaurants. Correspondents to the press confirm this. "In our cafe, the old dear who likes a lot of gravy is 'Gran Gravy'; the grumbling woman, 'Mona Lott'; the talkative one 'Ever Jaw.' In a local confectioner the assistants call regular customers such names as 'Stomach Trouble,' 'Me Usban,' 'My Feller,' and so on. Sometimes a sort of reversed humour is used: 'A la mode' wears dreadful clothes, 'Comedian' never smiles, and 'The Clam' talks your head off.[12]"

In every case quoted above a unique name is invented either because there are too many of a kind, or because there is no known name.

There is, of course, a curious tradition in England, regarding certain common surnames. People who bear these always have the same nickname. These seem to have arisen almost exclusively in what might be termed "monastic communities"—the boys public school, universities, the fighting services, and mens' clubs. Until recent times all these social communities in England were pre-

[11] R. Simmonds, *Daily Telegraph*, 9. 3. 55, and private communication.

[12] *Reveille*, 12. 8. 55.

dominantly masculine. From them came such nicknames of the more common surnames: thus Dusty Miller, Chalky White, Timber Wood, Nobby Clark, Gunboat Smith, Topper Brown, and so on.

Here there does not seem to be any urge for uniqueness. All Millers are Dusty Millers, all the Woods Timber Woods. Most of these are obvious. Their uniqueness, if there is any, is a sort of family name: an idea underlying fraternity—"all pals together" perhaps. In the larger sphere "Limy" for Britons and "Yanks" for American citizens are rapidly losing their rebellion background. No longer are they terms of approbium, but rather of fraternal understanding. A symbol of the paradox - we are alike but not— reflecting very closely the family. Husband, wife, children, relatives—all alike but not.

Though Chalky White, Dusty Miller and Timber Wood are obvious enough, what are the origins and meanings of Topper Brown, and Nobby Clark? Though top hats did not appear in England till 1797, the nickname seems to go back at least to the sixteenth century *Comedy of Masks*. Here there is a character— an elderly fellow dressed in academic clothes called *Il Dottore*. He is full of pompous absurdities. The *Comedy of Masks* became translated to some extent and assimilated into the English Pantomime but also into the Morris and especially into the Christmas Mummers Dances and Plays. In the latter form, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a character wearing a tail coat and top hat—the symbol of professional and academic attainments—called Doctor Brown. Doctor for professional standing, Brown for anonymity because of the commonness of the name. This, it seems, was the original Topper Brown.

And Nobby Clark? Here again the nickname seems to have once been dressed in academic clothes. Originally, of course, the clerk was a clerk in Holy Orders. He was much superior to his fellow men—much superior: he could read and write. And if he could not get a benefice, he did the next best thing and became estate manager and accountant to one of the great estates in the country. Though some of these were in possession of the Church, many were in the hands of noblemen, who properly enough were known to the crowd as the Nobs. So John, Clerk in Holy Orders, whose superior skill was used to run the great estates, becomes John Clark and to his friends—Nobby Clark.

In both these cases of Topper Brown and Nobby Clark, there is a curious sort of repetition. Brown was in many cases itself originally a nickname for men with dark skins or those who sunburned easily; Clark is an occupational nickname.

I am of the opinion that a study of the formation of nicknames, and particularly the thoughts underlying their formation, is of immense importance in not only tracking the origins of names, but also of giving some background of social history to their formation. As I hope I have shown there appear to be several basic urges to form nicknames. They are: 1. the urge to attain uniqueness 2. the necessity to differentiate between many of a kind 3. the necessity to give a particular identity—often merely a label to anonymous acquaintances—really a type of (2).

To be sure, there are other reasons for inventing nicknames, but they are not so fundamental. Nickname formation is, of course, a separate thing, but often confused with the necessity for it. I have mentioned two. Animism and Symbolic Fraternities. Animism, perhaps, clings more closely in the present context and is more common. As I have explained, it embraces not only the instantaneous "action" type, but also those which have a clear cause and effect process. Of these, idiosyncratic and occupational nicknames are typical.

These are of much interest for they lightly sketch the background of their genesis. "Billo-by-the-Lamp" might, perhaps, be dismissed as no occupational nickname; but it gives a social background all the same. There is little doubt that this originated in the 1930's when unemployment was rife in South Wales—when many had little else to do but to pass the time leaning against walls or lamp-posts—hopeless in waiting for a job.

Such cases of formation are easy to follow now, but it is of importance to trap and record them as they occur. If this is not done, the origin and therefore the sketch of social background which engendered their formation is lost.

Investigation of the origin of names must be painstakingly thorough. False scents are frequent, sometimes from incomplete know'edge. For example a common nickname for Brown is "Buster Brown". This appears to have arisen from the name of a character in an amusing series of children's books (of American origin) lavishly illustrated that became very popular in England about

1907–1912. To get at the very origins of the name, a further research is required into the American origin of the nickname Buster.

An illustration of how incomplete knowledge can lead to gross error is in the answers given to a question set in a General Knowledge paper. The paper was set in an examination of 100 African candidates for Police Constable in the Gold Coast. The question was, "Who is Marilyn Monroe?" No one candidate knew the correct answer. One said "The Commissioner of Police," others "The Prime Minister of China," "a Zulu," "a novelist," and "a heavy weight champion." One, who seems to have vague recollections of history, said "the President of the United States."[13]

That a study of nicknames gives an indication of the social background at the time of its formation, suggests an interesting field for study. A systematic study of the formation of surnames, nicknames, and even of the frequency of given names, should give a pretty clear indication of social history, if not on its own, at least in conjunction with known historical events.

[13] *The Star*, 20. 6. 55.

Bird Fools and Boobies

W. L. McATEE

IT THROWS NO LITTLE LIGHT on the predatory tendencies of man that he freely applies the term "fool" to creatures so tame as to allow him to approach and kill them. That they are sometimes so fatally unsuspicious appears to be the underlying reason why most of the birds listed in the following table have been dubbed foolish. It is worthy of note that 18 of the 22 species are, or have been, game birds, and that two of them (marked †) are now extinct.

Name	*Bird*	*Known distribution of the name*
Fool bird	Black-crowned night-heron*	S. C.
,, ,,	Yellow-crowned night-heron*	S. C.
,, ,,	Labrador duck†	Labr.
,, ,,	Dusky grouse	Nev.
,, ,,	Heath-hen†	Pa.
,, ,,	American coot	Iowa
Fool coot	,, ,,	Iowa
Fool duck	Redhead	Utah
,, ,,	Ruddy duck	Me., Mass., N. Y., N. J., Mich., Ind., Ala., Mont.
,, ,,	White-winged scoter	Ohio
,, ,,	American coot	Iowa
Fool fowl	American bittern	Ga.
Fool gull	Laughing gull (the young)	N. C.

* In these cases, ease of approach by day may be increased by the natural ineptness of nocturnal species in full light.

Fool hen	Fulmar	Calif.
,, ,,	Dusky grouse	Man., S.Dak., Mont., Colo., Idaho, Utah, Nev.
,, ,,	Spruce grouse	Generally
,, ,,	Franklin's grouse	Mont., Idaho, B. C., Wash., Ore.
,, ,,	Ruffed grouse	Older records: Eastern Canada, New England. Later records: S. Dak., Utah
,, ,,	Willow ptarmigan	Yukon
,, ,,	Sage grouse	N. Dak., S. Dak., Sask., Calif.
,, ,,	American coot	Ala., Ill., B. C.
Fool mallard	Gadwall	Ohio
Fool partridge	Spruce grouse	N. S.
,, ,,	Mearns's quail	Tex.
Fool plover	Dowitcher	R. I.
Foolish coot	Ruddy duck	Conn.
Foolish curlew	Hudsonian curlew (the young)	Mass.
Foolish godwit	Hudsonian godwit	Man.

Special reasons may account for application of the sobriquet "fool bird" to the yellow-billed cuckoo (S. C.) and ovenbird (N. C.); and are known to prevail in two additional instances. The rhinofornia, because it will allow a boat to run over it; and Mearns's quail has attracted contemptuous monickers because it lies so close as to allow itself almost to be stepped on. These are: crazy quail (Tex.), fool hen (Tex., Ariz.), and fool quail (Tex., N. Mex., Ariz.). Crazy grouse for the spruce grouse (Sask.) probably denote unwarranted tameness in the presence of man; and galoot, crazy galoot, and silly galoot for Ross's goose (Athabaska, Alta.) are frankly said to mean that this species is easy to shoot. Birds of the year of the black-bellied plover have been called gump in Massachusetts from their being easy for hunters to approach.

"Booby" is the common name of several species of large sea birds, five of which are on the North American list. This word and its counterparts in a variety of languages were originally applied to the birds by sailors because of their "stupidity in alighting upon ships and allowing themselves to be easily taken by. . . hand." (Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of birds*, 1896). Other birds that have received the unflattering recognition of over-confidence in man, implicit in the term "booby", include the scaup ducks (Tex.); ruddy duck (R. I., N. Y, Va., N. C., Wis., Ark., Tex.; also booby coot, N. Y.); the scoters (Pa., Md., D. C., N. C.,—varied to booby ducks, booley ducks, and Sound boobies in the last State); and the king eider (Pa.).

Certain owls are called "boobies", perhaps in reference to their lethargy by day, facilitating approach by man. These terms are: booby (great horned and barred owls, Md.); and booby owl (barn Del., W.Va.; great horned owl, Pa., Md., Ill.; barred owl, Md.; and burrowing owl, Calif.).

"Gooney" or "gony" (with the word, bird, often added) is a name equivalent to "booby", that is applied by sailors in the Pacific to the albatrosses, three species of which occur in our waters from California to Alaska.

"Dummy," in popular speech, has about the same implication as "booby"; it is a name for scaup ducks (Ont.), the bufflehead (Ill.), and as dummy duck, for the ruddy (Mich.).

Other bird appellations meaning "not all there", so far as coping with man is concerned, are: goofy (Calif.) and looby (N. Y.) for the ruddy duck; pudding-head (black brant, Wash.); and simpleton (dunlin, Mass.). Silly bird for the limpkin (Fla.), however, probably refers to its frenetic, wailing cries.

First Names in French Louisiana

E. D. JOHNSON

WHILE FAMILY NAMES IN THE FRENCH SPEAKING AREAS of Louisiana have undergone changes in form over the past two centuries*, the forenames of these French-Americans and their descendants have also shown an interesting development. In the beginning, of course, French name-forms prevailed. The Acadians, for instance, who came into Louisiana after 1755 show a remarkable consistency in their use of common French forenames, with Alexandre, Armand, Jacques, Jean, Paul, Pierre, and Simon being the most used among men's names, while Anna, Annette, Cecile, Marguerite, Marie and Susanne were the most popular feminine names. In fact, out of two hundred women's names on the Ascension Parish church rolls in the 1770's, no less than 73 had Marie as all or part of their forenames, and all but 28 had one of the six names mentioned above.

In the early nineteenth century, however, an interesting change in forenames took place. Although the ordinary French names remained popular, an increasing number of French Louisianians began to give their children names from Greek and Roman mythology and history. This was particularly true for boys. Such ancient Greek names as Alcibiade, Alexandre, Alphe, Aristide, Hypolite and Ulysse began to appear, along with such good Roman names as Aurelien, Agricole, Junius, Martial, Ovid, Valerien and Victorien. It should be noted that many of these classical names were also fairly common in France and French-Canada, so there is some doubt as to whether the French Louisianians were adopting classical names as such or merely showing a preference for the French names of classical origin. In either case, the prevalence of these forms in

* See "Family Names in French Louisiana", *Names*, III (Sept., 1955), pp. 165—168.

nineteenth and early twentieth century forenames is distinctly noticeable.

Together with the classical forms, there was also a wide use of forenames adapted from the classics, or sounding like classical names. Among these were Alcée, Alcide, Aristile, Arcis, Belizaire, Cleus, Cyprien, Eraste, Euclis, Jeneus, Julo, Odile, Odon, Onezime, Oleux, Ovey, Sosthene, Theophis, Valmir, and Zepherin. Although there were few strictly classical names used for women, there were many that indicated a classical influence. Such girls' names as Aspazie, Elidia, Elphege, Alphosine, Duila, Meridie, Nydia, Palmyre and Philomene would certainly fall in this class. As the nineteenth century progressed, some parents went even farther afield in their search for the unusual and came up with such oddities as Euphemond, Hervillien, Balthasard, Onesiphor, Solastille, Ursin, Valmon and Zenon.

As the twentieth century approached, and indeed during the first two or three decades of this century, the boys' names began to become really distinctive. The tendency toward classical names seems to have been dying out, and the later trend toward the use of English forenames had not developed. The usual French forenames did not suffice in an area where dozens or even scores of people in the same community might have the same surname. Hence, inventiveness ran wild, and such forenames appeared as Arcis, Armide, Alronver, Clebert, Clodis, Emic, Ezaro, Euel, Dolze, Elius, Exalt, Hervin, Gladu, Lessin, Loudice, Dassas, Lailor, Linex, Ferjus, Olestie, Ozeme, Oray, Lazard, Osta, Reul, Romeal, Rettol, Regile, Ruvian, Ulinor, Valex, Warman, Zedore, Ozare, and Zerben. Variations on standard spellings also created a number of new names, with Ulysses, for example, appearing also as Ulysse, Ulys, Ulis, Eulis and Eulice.

Another twentieth century trend, however, has been the almost overwhelming use of common English forenames to go with the still French-formed surnames. This is understandable, considering the strong trend of Anglicization in the area, with only English taught in the elementary schools, and virtually all newspapers, radio and television in English. As an indication of this tendency toward English forenames, a count of three hundred names of college students with French family names, taken at random from an area college student directory, found nearly seventy-five percent to

have English first names. Some of these, of course, have the same form in both French and English, as Charles and Robert, or are very similar, as Henry (Henri) and Edward (Edouard). However, it is noticeable that these are pronounced in the English manner, even when the speaker is using French.

Among these with French forenames, oddly enough, the trend is away from the old standbys, and toward such names as Anatole, Marcel, Maxim, René, Émile, Maurice, Étienne and Raoul, which were seldom if ever used in the nineteenth century. This is also true among girls' names and such new ones as Adrienne, Claudette, Dénise, Eugénie, Jeanne, Jeannette, Genevieve, Madeline, Nannette, Renée, Yvette and Yvonne are becoming relatively common. It should be noted, however, that these feminine forms are almost as popular among the English-speaking natives as among the French.

Among boys' names in the French families there has been an increasing use of less common English forenames, with Allen, Alton, Belton, Byron, Curtis, Ernest, Leslie, Lloyd, Milton, Malcolm, Preston, Shelton, Russell and Warren being frequently used. This trend is not noticeable among feminine names, but there is a comparable use of Spanish or Spanish-sounding names, such as Celestina, Consuella, Dolores, Rita and Teresa. Since there are a number of families in the area with Spanish background, this is not surprising. In the case of both boys and girls there are very few forenames taken from the names of prominent people. An occasional girl is named for a movie star, and a few boys born in the 1930's were named Huey or Huey P. for Governor Huey P. Long. Among the generation born during World War I there is an occasional Wilson, Pershing, or Foch, but these are extremely rare.

Like their English neighbors, the girls of French Louisiana are often given double forenames and called by both. Such names as Eva Lee, Betty Sue, Dorothy Mae, and the like are frequently seen, but they are often accompanied by less common combinations such as Tommy Sue, Sammy Lou, Edie Mae, or Micky June. Sometimes this trend becomes inventive and such forenames as Aura Belle, Delta Lou, Donna Dieu, Fronnie Lee, Melda Lyn, Meta Ann, Vena Mae, and Wava Sue can be found. On other occasions two names, or parts of two names, are joined to form a single forename, with varying results as far as euphony is concerned. Some of these are Mollieann, Shirleen, Marigayle, Evadell, Janell, Raylynn, Jolayne,

and Loralie. More original, perhaps, but in the same vein, are Arlyn, Arvelle, Eldene, Euradel, Enola, Ellodie, Maeola, Monita, Orelene, Rhynette, Sylveen, Walleen and Wunita. Occasionally, the desired effect of originality is achieved by a variant spelling of an ordinary name. These vary from Marye and Jayne through Jaclyn, Jacklynn and Wanita, to Elloyse and Eyeleen. Very infrequently one finds an unusual common noun, such as Sable, Palace, or Merit used as a forename, but the New England standbys of Faith, Hope and Charity seem to be entirely unknown in this area.

The use of the mother's family name as a first name for sons is another rarity among French speaking families, and it is only in the last generation that the use of the father's forename with Junior added for a son has come into fairly common use. However, there are several French family names that are sometimes used as forenames and among these are Dupré, Dupuis, Mouton, and Voorhies. The latter is actually a Dutch family name, but it belongs to an old area family that has been "French" for generations. Quite a few French names, of course, are widely used as both first names and family names so that they cannot be said to be exclusively either. Among these are Vincent, Richard, Victor, Roy and Simon. Rousseau, oddly enough, is almost unknown in this area as a family name, but appears occasionally as a first name.

An odd fact that is noticeable to newcomers in French Louisiana is that while French family names are given French pronunciations even by their English speaking neighbors, forenames are almost invariably given English pronunciations even by French speakers. For example, Vincent as a first name is usually heard as Vin-sunt, but as a surname it is Va(n)-sah(n). Similarly, Richard is either Ritch-ard or Ree-shard, and Simon can be either Sigh-mon or See-mo(n). The surname Hébert is so commonly pronounced A-bayre that it's pronunciation as Hee-bert by a contestant on a local television program brought prolonged laughter even in the studio. Yet Herbert, Hubert, Robert, and many other forenames are still given English pronunciations in both French and English. Strictly French forenames, however, such as Pierre, René, Émile and Maxim, are just as commonly given their French pronunciations even by English speakers.

Both French forenames and classical forenames seem to be declining in popularity, and it is quite possible that another generation or two will see them disappear, but as long as local ingenuity holds out, the "invented" names can be expected to survive. They may sound a little unusual to outsiders, but they serve their purpose, and they add a distinctive regional characteristic to the general name patterns of the United States.

* * *

Fremont, California. – Next to Aaron Burr, John C. Fremont is probably the most controversial character in our national history. Praised by some as the greatest explorer of the North American West, despised by others as a foolish adventurer, he has left a definite mark in history and was the most spectacular character in California at the time of the American conquest. In early days the geography of California was dotted with places called Fremont, but until recently no major geographical feature preserved the name of the great "pathmarker". In January, 1956, however, the residents of Centerville, Irvington, Niles, Mission San Jose and Warm Springs voted to incorporate their communities into a new town to be called Fremont. Fremont will have 25,000 inhabitants, but next to Los Angeles, it will cover probably the largest area of any California city – almost 100 square miles. E. K. G.

Algonquian Names

HAMILL KENNY

With reference to Edward Taube's article "Tribal Names Related With Algonkin" (*Names*, June 1955) I find myself at variance with some of the views expressed by the author.

Tribal names are from place names. – It is the author's persuasion that the Algonquian place names of the Atlantic coastal area are corrupted tribal names. This opinion is contrary to the fact that for many of these names Algonquian scholars have found a definite, demonstrable place name translation. My thesis, *The Origin and Meaning of the Indian Place Names of Maryland* (University of Maryland, 1951), points out that the Algonquian tribal names of Maryland are primarily stream names, and that the application of the names of these streams to the Indians tribes living upon their banks was entirely secondary. Thus (so I maintain) the Wicomico Indians got their name from the river name, *Wicomico* (Proto-Algonquian stem **wīk-*, 'dwell'[1]); and the Pocomoke Indians got their name from the river name, *Pocomoce* (PA **pōxkwi-*, 'pierce'). That these completely different words are found together as names of the same stream means only that early observers made a geographical error. Of the watercourses of Maryland and Virginia, Captain John Smith[2] made an observation that no Algonquianist has successfully disproved: "The most of these rivers are inhabited by several nations, or rather families, *of the names of the rivers.*"

Pakwaminikewininug is untenable. – Mr. Taube believes that *Abnaki*, *Accomac*, *Algonkin*, *Mahican* (*Mohegan*), and "many others besides," are all corrupted cognates of one ancestral name; and he

[1] Starred forms are Proto-Algonquian stems (PA).

[2] *A Map of Virginia...* ([*Original Narratives of Early American History*, ed., Jameson] *Narratives of Early Virginia*, p. 84). Italics mine.

has reconstructed that name as *pakwaminikewininug*, 'hominy makers.' Mr. Taube was guided to this word by the importance to the Algonquians of crushed Indian corn or hominy. On this principle he could as properly have set up a word having to do with fishing or the chase.

The scientific reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian words consists of comparing authentic dictionary and spoken form of the same stem in various dialects and then (following rigid sound laws) determining what their underlying Proto-Algonquian archetype must have been. Mr. Taube's *pakwaminikewininug* is not proposed as a Proto-Algonquian word; nor does Mr. Taube seem to follow the methods one would use to construct such a word.

Reasoning that the PA **pōxkwi-* in *Pocomoke* referred to the crushing of corn, because the Pocomoke Indians had important corn fields, Mr. Taube adds PA **pōxkwi* ('pierce,' 'break') to PA **-min* ('grain'). And he concludes that a resulting *pakwaminan* gave rise to the dictionary word *hominy*. In this way, though he gives no grammatical discussion, he tries to account for the *ho* of *hominy*. Dr. William Jones[3], however, did not venture to give an initial stem for *hominy*. He merely declared that the word contains *-mīn*, 'grain,' and an unknown preceding modifying stem. To contend that the *ho-* of *hominy* is an abbreviation of PA **pōxkwi* is inconsistent with the fact that this *ho-* is found in words where *not* PA **pōxkwi* but *other* initial stems are present (viz., tack*hu*mmin, rocko*ho*miny)!

Algonquian sound shifts are disregarded. – Throughout Mr. Taube's article actual tribal and place names are linguistically equated to *pakwaminikewininug*. I shall consider seven of his separate phonetic equations and one group.

1. *Pocomoke* is from *pakwaminik...*

Objection: a. What proof is there that *Pocomoke* is a fragment of any appreciably longer word? No record of a longer form has been found.

b. *Pocomoke* can be satisfactorily explained as 'It is pierced or broken ground' (PA **pōxkwi-* 'pierce' PLUS PA **axkami-* 'ground' PLUS the inanimate copula *-at-* PLUS the third singular inanimate

[3] F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Part I, p. 558 ("Hominy," signed by A. F. C., and J. N. B. H.). The information given by Dr. Jones is dated 1906.

ending *-ki* [with the *-at-ki* becoming *-aki*, and the entire word being shortened to *Pocomoke* by haplology]).

c. Mr. Taube does not give a clear phonetic rationale of how the *-minike...* of *pakwaminike...* became the *-moke* of Poco*moke*.

2. *Wicomocon* is from *pakwaminikewininug*.

Objection: a. Mr. Taube speaks of an *m* that "developed through syncope." His meaning is not clear.

b. *Wicomico* can be explained as 'dwelling enclosure,' it being plain that it contains PA **wīk-*, 'dwell' (cf., *wig*wam, *wick*iup).

c. For *Wicomico* to be a corrupted fragment of *pakwaminikewininug* *p* would have to have become *w*. This in Algonquian is a phonetic impossibility.

3. *Raonoak* and *Hocomawananck* are from *pakwaminikewininug*.

Objection: This could be true only if *r* and *h* could develop from *p*. In Algonquian that is impossible.

4. Mr. Taube suggests a connection between *Conoy*, the name of the erstwhile Piscataways of southern Maryland, and "the place names Wiconowe 1638 (Onancock Cr.) and Wiccoconu 1664 (Wicomico R.)."

Objection: a. Mooney and Townsend[4] thought that *Conoy* was a linguistic variant of *Kanawha*.

b. *Conoy* can be explained as coming from PA **kenweewi*, 'It is long' (cf., Delaware *guneu*, 'long').

5. "Rockaway shows development of *r* from initial *p*, just as *Morhicans*, *Waoranecks*, and *Raonoak* exhibit *r* produced through weakening of various other sounds."

Objection: a. No amount of "weakening" can cause an Algonquian *r* to develop from *p*. Algonquian *r* is a dialectal variant of either PA **l* (which gives the *r* in such Powhatan words as *rakawh*, 'sand') or PA **Θ* (which gives the *r* in such Powhatan words as *Rappahannock* [PA **Θāpa*hanaki]).

b. The *r* in *Rockaway*, for instance, is from PA **lexua*, 'sand,' which usually appears as *rockua* (*Rahway*, N. J., *Rockawal*king, Md.).

6. Mr. Taube states that *Wicomocons* in Maryland "echoes" *Algoumequins* in Quebec.

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[4] Hodge, *op. cit.*, I, 339–340 ("Conoy," signed by J. M. and C. T.).

Objection: a. It is phonetically impracticable for an Algonquian *Algo...* to give *Wico...*, or vice versa.

b. The two words cannot be related: Hewitt[5] derives *Algonkin* (*Algonquian*) from Micmac *algoomaking*, 'at the place of spearing fish and eels...'; and in *Wicomico* is the demonstrable PA **wīk-*, 'dwell.'

7. "... Kinibeki in Maine matches Quinebaug and Quinnipiac in Connecticut as well as Konowiki in Pennsylvania."

Objection: a. These Maine and Connecticut place names are no doubt one and the same. It is usual for the same Indian river name to be applied all along the Atlantic coast to streams that have in common the particular meaning of that name (e. g., *Pawtucket*, *Patuxent*, 'Little falls').

b. But *Konowiki* (cf., Conowingo) is a different name. Phonetically it is not feasible for an Algonquian *-begi* (*-baug*, *-piac* [cf., Chesa*peake*]) to "match" *-wiki*.

8. Mr. Taube gives a final list of twenty-two words beginning with *p*. These words (so he contends) are fragments of *pakwaminikewininug*.

Objection: a. Some of these names are Maryland place names. These I have shown (Thesis, 1951) to contain stems different from PA **pōxkwi*, 'pierce,' 'break.' b. Others (beginning with *Peor...*, *Pu...*, *Pam...*, etc.) have nothing in common with PA **pōxkwi* except the initial *p*. c. The remaining ones have a slight similarity to *pakwaminikewininug* on account of the abundance in Algonquian of *p* and *k* syllables.

Modern Algonquian scholarship. – Mr. Taube states that the Indians, telling their ethnic names to the settlers, "did not speak distinctly." But Algonquian is—and was then—a highly inflected, polysynthetic tongue, replete with a copious vocabulary, and operating on demonstrable and consistent phonetic principles. Truman Michelson[6] and Leonard Bloomfield[7]—taking up the work begun

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[5] *Ibid.*, I, 38 ("Algonkin": etymology attributed to "Hewitt," article signed by J. M. and C. T.).

[6] He was the first to apply Indo-European techniques to the study of Algonquian.

[7] "Algonquian," *Linguistic Structures of Native America* ([Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number Six] New York, 1946), pp. 85–129.

by the ill-fated Dr. William Jones—[8]in large measure reconstructed the Proto-Algonquian language. And the labors of Father James A. Geary,[9] Frank Siebert[10] and C. F. Voegelin[11] have untangled the Algonquian dialects, clarified certain Proto-Algonquian clusters, and verified the intuitions of Joseph Howse (1844) and W. R. Gerard (1904). Present day Algonquian etymology is based on a matrix of authentic PA prototypes. The study of Algonquian is a linguistic discipline; it has a system of orderly sound laws that must be reckoned with. Algonquian is spoken as distinctly as any standard language; it is as impervious to the workings of "polymorphic corruption" as English or French or Greek.

Mr. Taube seems to disregard the technical linguistic science, Algonquian. He does not mention either its originators or its principles. He lists J. H. Trumbull and W. W. Tooker in his notes; but those scholars have long been outmoded. He cites *hominy* in Hodge's *Handbook*; but he does not prove the correctness of his addition of PA **pōxkwi-* to *hominy*. The noteworthy dictionaries of Lacombe, Lemoine and Tims are mentioned; yet one sees no paginated citations from them. Mr. Taube's hypothesis about "polymorphic corruption" and the Algonquian language is an interesting one; but the student will look in vain for any substantiation of it in the annals of modern Algonquian philology.

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[8]) Dr. Jones (Ph. D. Columbia, 1904; murdered in Philippines in 1909; life by Henry Rideout) was of Algonquian (Fox) ancestry. His Columbia doctoral dissertation, *Some Principles of Algonquian Word Formation*, was later expanded into the grammatical sketch of Fox in Boas' *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Bulletin 40, BAE).

[9]) The author of important articles on Proto-Algonquian and on the subjunctive and changed conjuct in Fox. See *Language*, 17:4 and 19:2; also, *IJAL*, XI:3, XII:2, and XII:4.

[10] "Certain Proto-Algonquian Consonant Clusters," *Language* 17:298–303. October–December 1941.

[11] "Delaware, An Eastern Algonquian Language," *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (Viking Fund Publications, Number Six, New York: 1946), 130–157.

News, Comments, Queries

One of the long-range projects of the *ANS* is the publication of an encyclopedia of United States Place Names. Much will have to be done before such a project can be seriously considered. In the meantime we welcome all local and topical contributions about the geographical nomenclature of the United States, which will finally be blended into a comprehensive reference book. *Place Names in Burlington County New Jersey* (Riverside, N. J., 1955; bound $ 3.25) by our member Henry H. Bisbee is the latest arrival along these lines. To be sure, Mr. Bisbee's volume is more like a Baedecker, which gives extensive general information, especially of the larger places, but interspersed are many interesting items concerning the meaning and origin of names.

Canadian Slavic Namelore is the title of No. 11 of the series Onomastica of the *Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences* (P. O. Box 3597, Station B, Winnipeg, Canada. Its author is the editor of the series, our vice president, J. B. Rudnyckyj.

The Bulletin of the Massachusetts Audubon Society publishes serially "Folk Names of New England Birds," by W. L. McAtee. It is as interesting as McAtee's contribution to the June 1953 issue of *Names* "Longevity of Bird Names". Reprints of the latter, which we offered last year, are unfortunately no longer available.

Presidential Place Name Covers is an interesting guide for mail cover collectors of covers with stamps bearing the portrait of a United States President and the cancellation of a post office named for the same President. Its author is our member William E. Ashton, and it was recently published in serial form in *Weekly Philatelic Gossip*.

North and South.—In one's acquaintance, one probably knows several persons by the name of North and several by the name of West. But how many does one know by the name of Mr. East or Mr. South? There are doubtless some bearing the latter two names. However, what explanation is there for the great disproportion between the number of Wests and Norths on the one hand and Souths and Easts on the other? David Lindsey.

Levette J. Davidson, who was elected to the Board of Managers of *ANS*, also became president of the American Dialect Society.

ANS Notes

In Memoriam. The *ANS* regrets the loss of two men who are inseparably connected with modern American culture.

Henry Louis Mencken died in his seventy-sixth year after a long illness. It does not behoove us here to enlarge upon his achievements. Whatever people may think of his literary activities, his name is an important factor in the evolution of American culture of the nineteenth century. In the field of onomatology he was a pioneer, as he was in the field of the American language. He was one of our sponsors when the American Name Society was formed in 1952, and he would have become an active leader in our Society had not his unfortunate illness forced him to curtail his activities.

The other great American whose death we deplore was our member Wheeler Sammons, who became a victim of heart failure in his sixty-seventh year. For several decades he was the publisher and editor of *Who's Who in America*, a reference book without which we can not imagine the American scene. He perfected this reference book to such an extent that it became the model for similar works. As long as *Who's Who in America* will be published the name Sammons will be reverently mentioned in connection with it.

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The Society held a successful and encouraging annual Meeting in Chicago on December 28, 1955, in conjunction with the Modern Language Association. The eleven papers on the program were read in two sessions before audiences of forty to fifty persons and were followed by lively discussions. Reports by the president and the treasurer were presented at the business meeting following the first session.

The following papers were read:

First Session

1. "Names in Everyday Speech," Margaret M. Bryant, Brooklyn College.
2. "Canadian and American Slavic Namelore," J. B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba.
3. "The Names of Ex-voto Objects in Ancient Mesopotamia," I. J. Gelb, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
4. "Slavic Terms and Place-Names in Peloponnesus (Greece)," Demetrius J. Georgacas, University of North Dakota.
5. "The Name Chicago," Edward Taube, University of Wisconsin.

Second Session

1. "Geographical Distribution of the Term *Prairie* in the United States," E. Wallace McMullen.
2. "Names of Soviet (Russian) Celebrities," John P. Sydoruk.
3. "Egyptian Nicknames," Harold B. Allen, University of Minnesota.
4. "Names for Delaware Before the Period of the Revolution–and After," A. R. Dunlap, University of Delaware.
5. "Street Names in Mexico City," Jack Autrey Dabbs, A. & M. College of Texas.
6. "The Significance of Street Names," Levette J. Davidson, University of Denver.

The highlight of the meeting was Allen Walker Read's scholarly and witty address on *The Criticism of Numerical Naming*, at the informal annual dinner attended by about thirty. The president and Professor Rudnyckyj also reported on the recent International Congress at Salamanca. At the close of the meeting the group requested that the appreciative thanks of the Society be conveyed to Secretary–Editor Gudde for his devoted and efficient services to the Society, and to Mamie Meredith and Elsdon C. Smith for arranging the excellent program and meeting facilities.

The next annual meeting will be held December 27 or 28, 1956, at Washington, D. C. The president has appointed Meredith F. Burrill as chairman of the local committee of arrangements and Margaret M. Bryant as chairman of the program committee. Members who wish to read papers or who have suggestions to make should communicate with Professor Bryant, 1 Montague Terrace, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Our Treasurer.–Henry Karpenstein, charter member No. 1 of the *ANS*, retired as treasurer of the organization after three years of faithful service. Much of the success of the Society is due to his conscientious work. His successor is Fritz Kramer of the Department of Geography, University of California, author of *Idaho Place Names*.

The new officers.–The nominating committee consisting of Elsdon C. Smith, C. Grant Loomis, and Thomas Pyles announces the election of the following officers for 1956:

Kemp Malone, President

George R. Stewart, Margaret M. Bryant, J. B. Rudnyckyj — Vice Presidents

Erwin G. Gudde, Executive Secretary

Meredith F. Burrill, Levette J. Davidson — Board of Managers

Fritz Kramer, Treasurer

Madison S. Beeler, Demetrius J. Georgacas, Atcheson L. Hench, Albert H. Marckwardt, Mamie Meredith, Allen Walker Read — Editorial Board

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1955

INCOME

Balance carried forward	$ 565.27
Dues and subscriptions	2664.55
Other income	243.05
	$ 3472.87

EXPENDITURES

Printing of *Names*	$ 2109.00
Mailing, Stationery, Clerical assistance, etc.	474.96
Goethe Prize	100.00
	$ 2583.96

Income for 1955	$ 3472.87
Expentitures for 1955	2583.96
Brought forward to 1956	$ 888.91

Respectfully submitted
Henry Karpenstein, Treasurer

NEW MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

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Dr. Margaret C. Schemel, Lincoln Memorial Library, Harrogate, Tenn.
State College Library, Technical Service Division, Pullman, Wash.
Herbert Blaine Wolfeschlegelsteinhausenbergerdorff, Sr., 142 S. 11th, Philadelphia 7, Penn.

The December, 1955, issue contained about as great a variety of contributions to our field of study as we can expect to have between the covers of one number. The article on Amerigo Vespucci added nothing new to the name of our continent but to the knowledge of the person in whose honor it was named. German Arcienigas, who gave the subject wide publicity in *Life*, October 11, 1954, and more recently published a new biography of Vespucci, does not seem to add anything of importance to what has been said previously by Tibón, Beeler, Pohl, and others. Leonard B. Loeb, captain, U.S. Army, retired and now professor of Physics in the University of California, is the author of the above mentioned article.

The articles by Kelsie B. Harder, of Youngstown College and William C. Childers, professor of English, University of Florida, show again what a wealth of interesting information can be gleaned from names in literature.—George T. Flom was for many years professor of English and Scandinavian philology at the University of Illinois, and editor of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.—A. R. Dunlap is on the faculty of the University of Delaware, Ivan H. Walton of the College of Engineering, University of Michigan, and Donald T. Clark a librarian at the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.—The other contributors to the last issue are known to our readers from previous contributions to *Names*.

This issue. In the world of scholarship controversies are not only unavoidable but desirable. Research in all branches of learning would become unnecessary if scholars would be able to give the definite and final answer to all problems confronting them. The etymology, origin, and application of American Indian names is one of the most fruitful fields for research—and for controversies. In Europe such controversies are sometimes still carried on in the spirit of animosity and jealousy (see *Names*, December, 1955, pp. 260f.); in America we prefer to do it in the spirit of chivalry and tolerance. In the June, 1955, issue Edward Taube, a geographor, wrote an essay on Algonquian tribal names; in the present issue, Hamill Kenny, a philologist, challenges a number of Mr. Taube's points. Both contributors are charter members of the *A.N.S.* and both are nationally known in their fields.

It is not the editor's duty to interfere with a contributor's opinion or with his style. Neither is it his duty to join in controversies unless he has something important to add. I believe that I am entitled to a note with reference to the first paragraph of Mr. Kenny's article. Knowing little about Eastern Indian languages I can neither confirm nor contradict his statements. However, I am fairly well acquainted with the evolution of Indian names in California and can say with a degree of certainty that all Indian river names were named after the tribes or villages that dwelled on their shores. If in some rare cases, tribes or villages *were* named after a stream, it was because the stream had previously been named after a tribe with which the white people had come in contact first.

Jack A. Dabbs' third instalment, dealing mainly with the nomenclature of Mexico and Peru, completes the bibliography of namelore in Latin America to 1953. The bibliography for 1954 and 1955 will be published in the June issue.

William E. Mockler's article is the text part of a dictionary of the surnames of Trans-Allegheny Virginia, completed as a doctoral thesis under the direction of Francis L. Utley. The monograph was submitted in competition for the Mary Glide Goethe Prize.

P. W. F. Brown and W. L. McAtee are known to our readers from previous contributions. E. D. Johnson is director of the Stephens Memorial Library of the Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

Personal Message.—For the past three years the University of California Press has published *Names* for the American Name Society. With this issue our journal will be printed by a commercial printer and bear the imprint of our Society alone. Since it was at my request that the officers of the Society authorized me to make this change, I consider it my duty to explain to our members the reasons for this request.

When, in 1951, Elsdon Smith proposed the founding of an American Society devoted to the study of names, I realized that the best method of stimulating and maintaining interest would be the publication of a journal devoted to onomastics. As a member of the faculty of the University of California, I naturally thought of the University of California Press as the proper agency to undertake the publication of the journal for the new Society. The University was supporting a number of other journals, one to the extent of more than fifty per cent of its cost of production. I was further encouraged by the statements of the President of the University and the Editorial Committee that the editing of a scholarly journal is considered an important part of the duties of a member of the Faculty and should entitle him to a reduction of his teaching load.

After extended negotiations the University granted the sum of one thousand dollars for three years with the stipulation that the University Press print the journal. The arrangement seemed expedient, but, experience proved otherwise. The annual $1000 University subsidy, in effect, served only to cover the difference between the high cost of printing by the University Press and the sum we would have had to pay a commercial press. When the matter of renewing the subsidy was brought up, the whole financial arrangement, together with the slow-moving, bureaucratic action of the committees and boards in charge, induced me to request the *ANS* officers to grant me the authority to have the journal printed by a commercial printer. I felt even more justified to make this request for another reason. Despite the general policy of granting a reduction in the teaching load of a professor who edits a scholarly journal, the head of my department, no scholar himself and unaware of what the editing of a journal entails, found it neither "justified" nor "possible" to reduce my teaching load. As was to be expected, the president of the University, the chancellor, and the "appropriate officers" concurred with this decision. Under these circumstances I feel under no obligation to the University of California with respect to the publishing of *Names*. I am pleased that the American Name Society is able to publish the journal solely under its own imprint.

Erwin G. Gudde

The Names of Ex-Voto Objects in Ancient Mesopotamia

I. J. Gelb

Among the Sumerians of ancient Mesopotamia there was a widespread custom of dedicating ex-voto objects to divinities by persons who wished thereby to secure for themselves and their families well-being, prosperity, and long life; to avert misfortune and sickness; or to express thanks for favors granted. These objects were dedicated to both male and female divinities; the offerers were usually the rulers, rarely private individuals.

The time of attestation covers practically the whole span of Sumerian history, beginning with Eannatum, Entemena, and Urukagina, who ruled in Lagash in the first half of the third millennium B.C., and extending down to Ur-Nammu, Shulgi, and Bur-Sin, the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur, which was replaced toward 2000 B.C. by the dynasties of the Semitic Akkadians and Amorites. Our best attestation comes from the middle period, from the time of Gudea, the glorious ruler of Lagash. The custom of naming ex-voto objects passed on from the Sumerians to the Akkadians, but attestation among the latter is much more restricted.

Among named ex-voto objects found heretofore there are statues, stelae, weapons (such as maces), tables, bowls, musical instruments (such as lyres), and one example of a cylinder seal.

Our information concerning the names of the divinities, offerers, and ex-voto objects comes from either the inscriptions which are found on the objects, from tablets which accompany the ex-voto objects, or from other types of inscriptions whose aim is to describe the pious deeds of individuals making the offering.

The ex-voto objects are given names which are recorded as such in the inscriptions. Here are some typical examples of ex-voto names in the Sumerian tradition:

"Entemena-is-the-beloved-of-Enlil"
— the name of a statue dedicated by Entemena to Enlil[1]

"The-prayer-of-Urukagina-was-brought-to-Bau"
— on a tablet originally attached to an object, now lost[2]

"May-my-king(=god)-prolong-my-life"
— the name of a bowl dedicated by Ur-Ninsun to Ningirsu[3]

"For-my-king(=god)-I-built-his-temple, may-(long)-life-be-my gift"
— the name of a statue dedicated by Gudea to Ningirsu[4]

"Ningirsu,-the-king(=god)-whose-heavy-might-the-world-cannot-bear,-has-decided-good-destiny-for-Gudea,-who-built-this-temple"
— the name of a statue dedicated by Gudea to Ningirsu[5]

"Good-destiny-was-decided-for-Gudea,-the-priest-of-Ningirsu"
— the name of a stela recorded in a long cylinder inscription describing the deeds of Gudea[6]

"Geshtinanna-looks-upon-me-with-a-favorable-eye"
— the name of a statue dedicated by Gudea to the goddess Geshtinanna[7]

"I-am-the-one-who-loves-his-god,-may-my-life-be-long"
— the name of a statue dedicated by Ur-Ningirsu to Ningishzida[8]

"O-my-king!(=god),-may-I-live-by-his-ear-of-favor"
— the name of a cylinder seal dedicated by Shulgi to Meslamtaea[9]

"Bur-Sin-is-the-beloved-of-Ur"
— the name of a statue recorded on a brick inscription of Bur-Sin[10]

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[1] C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations Texts* I (London, 1928) No. 1.

[2] W. Förtsch in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXI (1917/18) 133.

[3] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 66.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 72.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 76.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 114.

[7] F. Thureau-Dangin, in *Monuments et mémoires*, publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres XXVII (1924) 104.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 105.

[9] Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 194.

[10] *Ibid.* p. 198.

"May-my-lady(=goddess)-watch-over-me"
— the name of a bowl dedicated by a private individual to an unknown divinity.[11]

Some typical examples in Akkadian are:

"Nabu-is-the-guardian-of-the-boundary-of-the-fields"
— the name of a boundary-stone found inscribed on a boundary-stone[12]

"O-Adad! -the-war-like-lord,-give-water-in-abundance"
— the name of a boundary-stone[13]

"O-Ishtar! -to-you-is-my-ear-(turned)"
— the name of a statuette dedicated by an individual to Ishtar.[14]

The object of securing well-being and protection from the enemy not for one individual but for many is quite apparent in dedications of large man-made projects, such as canals and walls and gates of a city. They too bear names identical in type with those of the ex-voto objects:

"Ningirsu-is-the-prince-in-Nippur"
— the name of a canal dedicated to Ningirsu and recorded in an inscription of Urukagina[15]

"Who-is-like-Nanna?"
— the name of a canal dedicated to Nanna in an inscription of Ur-Nammu[16]

"By-the-command-of-Shamash-may-Hammurabi-have-no-adversaries"
— the name of a wall of Sippar dedicated to Shamash and recorded in inscriptions of Hammurabi written in Akkadian and Sumerian[17]

"Shamash-gave-to-Samsu-iluna-manhood,-power,-and-(long)-life"

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[11] J. Nougayrol, in *Revue d'assyriologie* XLI (1947) 27, AO 16651.

[12] V. Scheil, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* II (Paris, 1900) 91.

[13] L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1912) p. 20.

[14] Thureau-Dangin, in *Revue d'assyriologie* VI (1904) 133.

[15] Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 52ff.

[16] Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations Texts* I, Nos. 284 and 285.

[17] I. J. Gelb, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* VII (1948) 270.

-the name of a wall of Sippar recorded in inscriptions of Samsu-iluna written both in Akkadian and Sumerian[18]

"Adad-establishes-its-abundance"

– the name of one of the eight gates of Dur-Sharrukin recorded in an inscription of Sargon II of Assyria.[19]

Of clearly prophylactic character were lions and dogs sculptured in stone or clay, whose aim was to protect the city or the home from enemies. Their typical names are:

"Impetuous-hurricane,-irresistible-attacker,-overthrower-of-the-rebels,-fulfiller-of-the-wish" and "suppressor-of-insurrection,-trampler-of-the-enemy-land,-who-repels-evil,-brings-goodness"

– the names of two stone lions built by a governor and placed at the gate of the city Kar-Shulman-asharid[20]

"Strong-is-his-bark," "conqueror-of-the-enemy," "biter-of-his-foe," "he-who-brings-goodness," "he-who-expels-evil"

– the names of dogs of clay, which where placed in pairs on either side of the threshold of the house in order to avert evil spirits.[21]

The words used for the names of ex-voto objects are *mu* in Sumerian and *shumum* in Akkadian. These are the words that are also used in these languages for real proper names, such as those of persons, divinities, and places.

The structure of the names of ex-voto objects is quite similar to that of standard proper names in that both normally express sentences of the type: "May-Sin-give-life" or "Sin-has-given-life."

With parallelisms between the names of ex-voto objects and proper names thus established, we may now consider their differences and the difficulties involved therein. The first point of difference pertains to the relative length of the names. Generally

[18] *Cuneiform Texts . . . in the British Museum* XXXVII (London, 1953) Pls. 1–4 and duplicates.

[19] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* II (Chicago, 1927) § 85.

[20] F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* I (Paris, 1936) 143.

[21] C. J. Gadd, in *Revue d'assyriologie* XIX (1922) 159 and O. R. Gurney, in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XXII (1935) 84 and 72. It is interesting to note that, as can be seen in the above articles, not only clay figurines of dogs but also rituals proscribing the use of such figurines for the purpose of exorcism have been discovered in Mesopotamia.

speaking, the names of ex-voto objects are much longer than those of persons, divinities, and places. Often the names of ex-voto objects are so long as to give the impression of a prayer or a statement of thanks addressed to the divinity to whom the object is dedicated. These names are obviously too long for practical use.

The second point involves the reasons for naming ex-voto objects and the intended function of the names. If the reason for name-giving is the identification of the named thing, it is understandable that some large objects such as statues and stelae, might need special names to set them apart, but why were names also given to such insignificant objects as tables, bowls, and musical instruments?

We are led to the inescapable conclusion that the purpose in naming ex-voto objects is not solely identification. Speculating along different lines, we may conclude that: a) the existence of ex-voto names manifests a case of animistic tendency to endue things with life; b) names are given to ex-voto objects because living things exist only by having names; and (c) ex-voto objects serve as personal intermediaries between the votant and the divinity.

The types of names here discussed have never been collected or even discussed in the oriental literature known to me. They are apparently new to the field of onomastics, and they cannot be fitted into any typological scheme, as proposed in studies of names which I have consulted.[22] The present paper, admittedly preliminary, is given here in the hope that it will further discussion of this interesting new subject.

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[22] Alan A. Gardiner, *The Theory of Proper Names* (Oxford, 1940); Ernst Pulgram, *Theory of Names* (Berkeley, 1954); George R. Steward, in *Names* I (1953) 73–78.

Knickerbocker

J. J. Lamberts

The family name Knickerbocker is a well-known synonym for institutions of Dutch origin or ancestry, particularly those associated with the early Dutch colony in what is now New York. This is wholly the result of Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker History of New York*, as he acknowledges in an "apology" written in 1848: "When I find [this book's] very name become a 'household word' and used to give the home stamp to everything recommended for popular acceptation, such as Knickerbocker societies, Knickerbocker insurance companies . . . – – and when I find New Yorkers of Dutch descent priding themselves on being 'genuine Knickerbockers,' — I please myself with the persuasion that I have struck the right chord."

Irving himself was acquainted with members of the Knickerbocker family. Moreover, he identified the fictional Diedrich Knickerbocker as a relative of the flesh and blood Knickerbockers. Thus his use of the name to typify anything Dutch was intended as an elaborate compliment. He even included in the *History* a mock etymology of the name: "Lastly came the Knickerbockers, of the great town of Schaghtikoke, where the folk lay stones on their houses in windy weather, lest they should be blown away. These derive their name, as some say, from *Knicker*, to shake, and *Beker*, a goblet, indicating thereby that they were sturdy toss-pots of yore; but, in truth, it was derived from *Knicker*, to nod, and *Boeken*, books; plainly meaning that they were great nodders or dozers over books."

The etymology *knikker*, " a clay marble," and *bakker*, "a baker," thus "a baker of clay marbles," is not here mentioned by Irving, nor apparently anywhere in his writings. Yet it seems incredible that a person who could contrive such fanciful explanations as those given above should not have hit upon the far more obvious one, for Irving was familiar with Dutch. One gets the impression that

everyone concerned was aware of the "marble-baker" etymology, but that Irving was indulging in a sophisticated kind of punning. Indeed, in his *Annals of Albany* (1852) [Vol. 3], Joel Munsell translates a number of family names and comments as follows on Knickerbocker:

> *Knikkerbakker*, marble baker; now almost universally written Knickerbocker, after the usage of Washington Irving; pronounced as if written K'n-nik-ker-bok-ker perhaps to distinguish it from *nikker*, a fiend or devil.

George Castor Martin in *The Knickerbacker or Knickerbocker Family* (1912) asserts that the first of this family of whom there is record was Jan or John VanBeighen Knickerbacker, third son of Godfrey, Count of Gunbaghen, who was a Captain in the navy of Holland. He is reputed to have seen service in Brazil and afterward in the Dutch army. He was married in Holland and later emigrated to America. Whether he actually ever used the name Knickerbacker appears uncertain. He did have a son, Hermen Jansen Knickerbacker, who was an officer in the navy of Holland and who took part in the Battle of Soleby in 1672. Martin states that he was wounded in the knee in the engagement and retired from the service, following his father to America.

We have here a satisfactory Dutch etymology for what is unquestionably a Dutch name, and we have at least one historical person to whom it belonged. This etymology, however, is far from acceptable to some of the persons who have borne the name. In fact, a stout negative report was entered some forty years ago by Kathlyne Knickerbacker Viele in her *Sketches of the Allied Families Knickerbacker Viele*.

Here is her statement in its entirety:

> The name of Knickerbacker is unique. It seems safe to assert that there has never been but one family of that name. It is evident from the testimony that it is constructed out of a combination of a family name and an individual peculiarity. There has never before been offered a rational solution of its meaning.
>
> For several years four others besides myself-- all of whom have had experience in the unraveling of the origin of Dutch names--have given to this matter a good deal of thought and one theory after another has been run down without arriving at any satisfactory decision. It has been adventured that the name represented part of an old Holland family name, but all the combinations seemed far fetched; that the ancestor's signature bore traces of lacking a syllable as would be the case perhaps in the writing of an illiterate man; but the syllable omitted could not be determined. It has been thought that the name denoted the occupation of the possessor and the Dutch dictionary has been searched for words whose combination

would indicate what that was. There seems to be absolutely nothing to make *knikkel* – marbles and *backer* – baker – – a baker of marbles, the etymology of the name. The name was never authoritatively written with "el" for the second syllable. This suggestion is given in the third volume of Munsell's Annals, p. 59; but a note to the preface of the seventh volume says that Knickerbacker "was not the original name." [Actually the quotation given is out of context. Munsell had no intention of withdrawing or even qualifying his earlier statement]. This statement of Munsell as to probable meaning has been widely copied.

It is probable that the name is to be read just as the ancestor wrote it at the foot of the legal document of 1682. The Dutch always signed their family names to legal documents. The late Walter Kenneth Griffin, an excellent genealogist, has well said, "Dutch names may be puzzling but they are logical and consistent."

Hermen Jansen Knickerbacker, as he came to be called, was first most frequently spoken of as "Hermen Jansen van Bommel." This was the name of the place in Holland that he hailed from. But to his contract with Anthony van Schaick in 1682 he signs himself "Hermen Jansen van Wyekyeback(e." Why not take this just as he has written it and give it at least a logical interpretation?

Hermen Jansen came from Bommel, in North Brabant, near which there was then and had been for several centuries a branch of the ancient family of Van Wye in which the names of Herman and Johannes were very common. As far back as the fourteenth century there was a Hermen VanWye who was governor of the Neder-Betuwe, where the fortified town of Bommel was situated.

The family tradition says that Hermen Jansen was in the Dutch navy, and although this has not been proven, there is nothing to prevent its having been true. He is said to have been with DeRuyter's fleet in the Battle of Soleby, fought June 7, 1672, and to have been there wounded. I doubt if an unwritten tradition would have done more than have handed down the facts of his fighting and of his wound. Therefore when I found that in the next year (1673) there had been a still more fierce and sanguinary battle fought by the same fleet under the same commanders at a place called Kijk, I could not but note its similarity to the "Kye" in the ancestor's name, especially when "back" (cheek) gave such an easy reading as – – Hermen Jansen vanWye-Kijk-back – – Kijk cheek – – or cheek marked at Kijk!

In the effort to read the name, the "Wye" which might easily be mistaken for "Nye" (it has been read in both ways by different clerks), was so interpreted and the name became Niekickbacker – – Nickerbacker, from which the transition was easy to the final form of Knickerbacker.

The clerk in the first document, that of 1682, writes the name Kinne-ker-backer. Kinneback is jawbone – – kinnekyckbacker – – man with the Kijk-jawbone, falls into line as a suggestion, but as to form it is more far-fetched.

There is no such name as Knickerbacker in Holland and since we have the signature of the ancestor to go by we must bear in mind that he does not call himself Knickerbacker, but "vanWyekycback(e."

It is from this signature that the origin of the name and the man must be traced.

The above is scarcely a model in onomastics. To refute one by one its logical fallacies, however, would constitute needless labor.

Especially obvious is the jump from one battle in which this ancestor is conjectured to have taken part to another battle a year later, and from a rumored wound (disregarding Martin's assertion that he was struck in the knee) to being able to locate it precisely on the person. Even more fanciful, if such a thing is possible, is the assumption that the Dutch ever indulged in the practice of naming people for injuries they sustained at various geographical locations in specific anatomical members. The speaker of American English would find wholly ridiculous such analogical inventions as Bulge-arm, New Guinea-shin, or Korea-shoulder.

To argue that because this person's name was Hermen, he must have been a VanWye simply because the VanWyes were often called Hermen or Johannes does not strike one as a singularly fortunate assertion either. Nearly every Dutch family with a score or more of males normally has one or more persons named Hermen or Johannes.

But since the writer is so sure that Knickerbacker must have been derived from Wyekycbacke, her procedure deserves some attention. There are, as she admits, a number of early municipal and church records in which Hermen Jansen's name turns up. In all there are no fewer than eighteen different combinations of names. It is true, the Wyekycbacke spelling is the only one in Hermen Jansen's handwriting, all the others being in the writing of various clerks. Nevertheless, there can be no fundamental objection to using a spelling which appeared some fifteen years after the date of the signature: Hermen Jansen Knickerbacker Van Wyye. VanWye, after all, is not to be regarded as merely part of Wyekyckbacke, but as a completely independent name. Those familiar with Dutch naming practices (even as late as the early part of the nineteenth century in some parts of the northern provinces) will recognize a familiar pattern. It was quite indifferent whether one was VanWye Knickerbacker or Knickerbacker VanWye. The only stable element in the name was the Hermen. For the rest he was Jansen or VanBommel, or both, or Jansen or Knickerbacker, or both.

It is extremely doubtful that the Kycbacke of the signature has any connection with a place Kijk or with a cheek or jawbone. Here is an illiterate, or at best a semi-literate man trying to write a long and unwieldy name in a community generally unconcerned about

any kind of consistency in writing or recording names. Such a spelling is about what one would anticipate. It certainly seems highly improbable that Wyekyckbacke should eventually become Knickerbocker because some clerk could not distinguish a W from from an N. Names are passed on by word of mouth rather than by signatures on obscure documents.

The writer's abrupt dismissal of the obvious etymology and her elaborate reaching for another suggests that the first one represents something distasteful. So it may well be, depending on how one looks at it. The "marble-baker" etymology is tossed out on two counts: first, it could not have been *knikkel* and *bakker*, because the "el" is insufficiently authenticated. Actually nobody ever suggested that it was *knikkel* at all, but *knikker*. And for that matter the spelling *Knikkelbakker* is given two times in the records. Secondly, she insists, "marble-baker" cannot have been an occupational term. The point is that it does not have to be. Very probably there never was an ancestor of the Knickerbocker family who made a living rolling Dutch clay into little balls. If Hermen Jansen was, as evidence indicates, a soldier of fortune, why could not "marble baker" have been a good natured nickname conferred on him by his companions. Surnames which were originally nicknames are extremely common among the Dutch. If taken literally they often border on the grotesque, as witness Notekraker, "nut-cracker"; Bontekoe, "spotted cow"; Bothijl "dull ax"; Aardappel, "potato"; not to mention the names of most wild and domesticated animals.

There can be no doubt that Knickerbocker is derived, as Munsell stated, from *knikker-bakker*. What this meant to the Dutch adventurer of the seventeenth century will probably never be known, and our guesses will likely be as far wide of the mark as the twenty-third century guesses at expressions like "feather merchant," "yard bird," or "dog robber." It may simply have amused Hermen Jansen enough to have induced him eventually to adopt it as his official surname, in preference to what he perhaps regarded as the colorless VanBommel.

Nicknaming in Egyptian Arabic

Harold B. Allen

Nicknames in Egypt are not so free a matter as they are in America. Unlike ours, they do not belong in the public domain. Here, even outside the family circle a man is Mike, Bob, Pete, Shorty, or Butch to his fellow-Kiwanians; and we may familiarly speak of our presidents as FDR and Ike. Not so in Egypt. Gamal Abdel Nasser is not publicly designated as Zhimi. Indeed, a westerner can live among Egyptians, even work closely with them for many years, and never hear a nickname.

Only sheer chance led to my overhearing an Egyptian mother call her little boy a name different from what I knew his given name to be. But when I began to inquire about nicknames I met a manifest reluctance to discuss the subject. Some Egyptians said flatly that they had no nicknames; some admitted their existence but declined to provide examples, either of their own or of others. At length, however, it was possible to collect enough nicknames to warrant a preliminary statement of the various methods of formation employed in Cairene Arabic.[1]

The nicknames I was able to obtain may be placed into two main groups upon the basis of their relationship to given names. By far the larger group consists of those which have a direct relationship with a given name. The second, much smaller, group consists of those lacking any such correlation.

The principal subclass in Group I, apparently including the great majority of Egyptian nicknames, is characterized by some method of phonetic alteration of the individuals' name (usually, but not necessarily, of the first of his three, four, or five names). This general process is familiar to us, of course, in such hypocoristic designations as Jenny for Genevieve, Jo for Joseph or Josephine, Peggy and Maggy for Margaret, Bill for William, Bert for Albert, and Jim for James. In Egypt such nicknames formed as phonetic reflexes fall into fairly regular patterns because of the nature of

the Arabic language. As a Semitic language, Arabic characteristically constructs its words upon triliteral consonantal roots by ringing the changes upon many possible vowel variations. This device produces both semantic and morphological variants in Arabic; it produces nicknames.

A boy's nickname Asmar, for example, is formed by vocalic modification upon the original s–m–r root appearing in his given name, Samir. Thus one finds Hamada for Hamdi, Selmi for Sallam, and Ekrema for Makram. It may be thought that there is free vowel substitution, though actually the substitution operates within limits of a complex phonemic pattern only now being analyzed by descriptive linguists.

Accompanying the vowel variation may be a shift in stress, as in Hamáda for Hámdi. One or two of the three consonants may be lost, as in Ada for Nadra. And one consonant may also undergo substitution, usually by a phonetic analog, as in Batta for Fatma. Sometimes, as with Batta, which also means "duck" and is a term of endearment, the phonetic alteration is influenced by paronomasia. Another example is the nickname Néima, which means "gift or blessing of Allah," for the name Naíma, which means "fortunate or prosperous one." And Ekrama, already mentioned, means "grape."

Some boys' nicknames follow:

Abuda	for	Abdel[2]	Hamada	for	Hamdi, Mohammed
Addúla[3]	,,	Adel			
Asmár	,,	Samira	Hamám	,,	Mohammed
Barhoum	,,	Ibrahim	Hamáma	,,	Ahmed
Ekrama	,,	Makram	Selmi	,,	Sallam
			Zhimi [ʒimi]	,,	Gamal

Feminine nicknames of this type include:

Ada	for	Nadra	Maruma	for	Mariam
Amúl	,,	Amál	Milo	,,	Amal
Bata	,,	Fatma	Moli	,,	Amal
Nafusa	,,	Nafisa	Mula	,,	Amal
Effa	,,	Afifa	Munni	,,	Amina
Enaba	,,	Enayat	Na'ama	,,	Ana'am
Fúza	,,	Fawzía	Naga	,,	Nagwa
Káram	,,	Karíma	Néima	,,	Naíma

Nasu	for Inás	Sa'ada	for So'ad
Pola	,, Ekbál, Nabilla	Samuha	,, Samíha
		Suna	,, Ehsan
Ragi	,, Ragaa	Tuha	,, Fathía
Ruzha	,, Ragaa	Zuba	,, Zeinab

Besides the phonetic modification of the original name as a whole, a second and common method of phonetic alteration is that of reduplication. Especially common within the family circle and among younger children is the nickname which consists of duplication of all or part of one of the syllables of the given name. Since the syllable base in Arabic is the consonant, this means that some such duplicated nicknames consist of only one consonant of the original, plus a different vowel. Sometimes, also, a closed syllable may lose its second consonant. All reduplicated nicknames in the collection have initial stress.

The frequent boy's name Nabil is, in the family group, commonly Bolbol (which happens also to mean "nightingale"). The girl's name Nabilla likewise becomes Bolbol. But Bolbol is equally good as a nickname for Ekbál. Bosbos, for Bothaina, exhibits the replacing of the Classical Arabic [θ] by Cairene Colloquial [s].

Simple open syllable reduplication apparently is very frequent. Since only one of the original consonants is necessary, one nickname may thus serve for many given names. Fifi, for instance, turned up as the nickname for Affaf, Afifa, Fakhria, Fatma, Ferial, Shafika, and Wafa', and doubtless represents a number of others I did not collect.

Masculine reduplicated nicknames:

Bolbol	for Nabil	Safsaf	for Mostafa, Safwat
Fufu	,, Farouk, Fouad		
Gigo	,, Wagih	Semsem	,, Sami
Mimi	,, Mohammed	Susu	,, Hassan, Suleiman, Sayed, So'ad
Nunu	,, Nabil		
Riri	for Rushdi		
		Tutu	,, Tawfik

Feminine reduplicated nicknames:

Bibi	for Ebtisam	Bosbos	for Bothaina
Bolbol	,, Nabilla, Ekbál	Dada	,, Widád

Didi	for	Átimad, Khalda, Magda, Nadia, Wadia, Widád	Nani	for	Nawal, Néimat, Nahed
			Nanno	,,	Nadia
			Nona	,,	Nadia, Tahani
Dudu	,,	Hoda, Widád	Riri	,,	Karimán, Reda, Ragaa, Souhir, Thoreya
Fafa	,,	Affaf			
Fafi	,,	Affaf			
Fifi	,,	Affaf, Afifa, Fakhria, Hanifa, Ferial, Fatma, Shafika, Wafa'	Safsaf	,,	Sofia
			Semsem	,,	Samiha, Samira
			Shushu	,,	Shafika
Fitfit	,,	Fatma	Sufsuf	,,	Insaf
Fufi	,,	Rafia	Susa	,,	Sana'
Fufu	,,	Affaf	Susu	,,	Ehsan, Mahassen, Samiha, Sawsan, So'ad, Sofi, Souhair, Thoreya, Yosreya
Gigi	,,	Wagiha, Ragaa, Khadiga			
Gulgul	,,	Galila			
Hudhud	,,	Hikmat			
Kuku	,,	Kawther			
Lali	,,	Laila	Suzi	,,	Soheir'
Lili	,,	Laila, Rawhia	Tata	,,	Fathia, Fatma
Lola	,,	Alia, Laila,	Tati	,,	Fathia
(Lulu)		Ola, Salma, Walaa	Tumtum	,,	Fatma
			Tuta	,,	Fatma
Mimi	,,	Amal, Hakíma Hayam, Kamilia, Magda	Tutu	,,	Néimat, Taheyya
			Zizi	,,	Azhar, Fawzia
			Zuzu	,,	Azhar, Faiza, Isís, Nargiz, Zeinab
Mona	,,	Monira			

Two very small subclasses of directly correlated nicknames occur. One comprises those formed by the loss of a syllable, with or without phonetic change. Thus Samíha becomes Miha, Farida becomes Fari (which one girl wrote in English as Fairy), Nabilla becomes Boula, and the boy's name Hanieh is shortened to Hani. The other class is marked by the combination of two bound mor-

phemes, a feminine *-t-* and the genitive pronominal enclitic *-i*. Thus, corresponding to the boy's nickname Hani is the girl's nickname Haniti. It is as if a frequently used "My Carol" became a single free morpheme "Mycarol" in English. Another instance is Bolbolti.

It is not without interest that European or Western names, those which are non-Muslim, have been subjected to the same influences that have produced such nicknames as those considered above. Some names possessed by Egyptian Christians (the Copts) or by Greeks, Italians French, Cypriots, Austrians, and others in the non-Muslim population, may actually be homophonous with Arabic nicknames so that no change is required for them to serve in this way in colloquial Arabic.

Examples of all kinds follow:

Bella	for	Berlanta, Violette	Lula	for	Alicia
			Malleem	,,	Emily
Bolbol (nightingale)	,,	Violette	Marmar	,,	Mary
			Mimi	,,	Mary
Bonna	,,	Isabella	Misho	,,	Michel
Elena	,,	Hélène	Nana	,,	Nancy
Getta	,,	Georgette, Janette	Rita	,,	Margaret, Marguerite
Isa	,,	Isabella	Riri	,,	Mary
Kiki	,,	Christine, Claire	Sinsin	,,	Sofia
			Susu	,,	Marcelle
Lalus	,,	Lucy	Tolla	,,	Victoria
Leli	,,	Lilian	Viki	,,	Victoria
Lolda[4]	,,	Violette	Vivi	,,	Yvonne
Lona	,,	Madliene	Yva	,,	Yvonne

A final subclass of directly correlated nicknames is also small and quite different from the preceding groups. The basis of the correlation is not phonetic but rather is metalinguistic and is presumably to be found in historical association. Some of these nicknames actually are of historical personages, but others can now be classed simply as traditional since the original association is not now known. All these nicknames function very much as the word Washington would if in this country any boy named George would *ipso facto* receive Washington as a nickname, or as Lincoln would if any boy

named Robert would *ipso facto* receive Son of Lincoln as a nickname. Those which I collected were for boys and men, perhaps for the obvious reason that famous women are relatively rare in Muslim history. The one exception in the list is Zahra (which means "flower") used frequently as a nickname for a girl named Fatma, because of the association with the name of Mohammed's daughter, Fatma El Zahra.

Historical background exists for names like those of relatives of the prophet Mohammed or of early sheikhs or religious leaders. Thus a boy named Osman would be familiarly called Abu Haffan, for Uthman [Osman] Ibn Haffan, who was the third caliph following Mohammed.[5] One named Hassan could be called Abu 'Ali, for the historical Hassan was the son of 'Ali, who was both the cousin and the son-in-law of Mohammed. Hassan could also be Abu Elwa, a variant for Abu 'Ali. One named Sayed could be called Abu Arag, for Sayed Abu Arag was a great early sheikh. Suleiman could be Ibn Dawood, for the pre-Islamic leader Suleiman (Solomon). Yussef could be Abu Haggag, for Yussef Abu Haggag, a religious leader in Sa'udi Arabia in the eighth century. For similar reasons Mahmoud may be called either Abu Taha, or, more likely, Abu Hanafi; and Ibrahim may be known as Abu Khalil. Fahmy is frequently given the nickname Abu El Ahlan; I could not find out why.

The second type of nickname is that which has no direct correlation with a person's own name. It is not uncommon for a boy, for example, to be known informally by the name of a favorite uncle or a grandparent. One boy, I learned, is called Toson (a Turkish name, incidentally) after his father's brother. But sometimes it is a prominent person not in the family who provides the nickname. For a boy named Mohammed Reda Swilam there was reported the nickname Shabur (which in turn was often shortened to Bura). Behind this is the story that Mohammed Reda, the shah of Iran, visited Egypt and married Princess Fawzia about the time this boy was born. And Shabur is the family name of the shah. Likewise I was told of a girl named Mirvat Abu El Fotuh whose nickname is Beba, and Beba is a wellknown oriental dancer.

Then there are a few *ad hoc* nicknames associated with personal characteristics. Apparently Egyptians do not favor this type of nickname as much as Americans do, but some instances do occur.

Thus a village bully is always called Abu Ahmed, a term which generally is regarded as complimentary, I am told, though it is only pejorative in Alexandria. A neighborhood gang leader is called El Futowa. A boy who lisps may be called Fithfith, from the colloquial verb 'fathfith,' which means to be unable to pronounce [s]. A boy with quite dark skin or with curly hair may be called Filfil, the Arabic word for black pepper. A girl named Monira was nicknamed Belila, a name for a kind of wheaten food.

From this preliminary and tentative approach to a study of nicknaming in Egyptian Arabic it would appear that at least two intensive studies need to be made: one directed toward the complicated phonemic correlations with the given name, and another toward the socio-cultural correlations. The first study would have to rest upon current research in colloquial Egyptian phonemics;[6] the second would involve consideration of such matters as the status of women, the status of children in the family, social groupings of children at home and at school, and the position of the family within the social structure.

1. For help in collecting the names I am grateful to many Egyptian students and to their instructors: Miss Gloria Scott, former Fulbright lecturer at the Higher Institute of Education for Women, Cairo, and now instructor in English, Pueblo High School, Tucson, Arizona; M. M. Mahmoud, English senior master at 'Urman Preparatory School, Cairo; Ibrahim El Serafi, assistant English senior master at 'Urman Secondary School, Cairo; M. M. Haruni, English teacher, Saidiyah Secondary School, Cairo. Ahmed Shams El Din of the Faculty of Science of the University of Cairo, 1955–56 Fulbright scholar at the University of Minnesota, has also helped by removing several egregious errors from the manuscript.

2. *Abdel* is, of course actually two words "slave" and "the." As the definite article *El* belongs with the following name, *Latif*, but it is not uncommon to hear it pronounced with *Abd* as one word, that is, without juncture, and it is often transliterated in English as one word.

3. Stress will be shown here by', and only when the English spelling might suggest the wrong stress pattern. It must be recognized that the spelling of Arabic names in this article only approximates the actual pronunciation. Incidentally, this particular nickname, Addula, is for a very young boy.

4. For the *d* in *Lolda*, as for *n* in *Sinsin*, I have no present explanation. Phonemic correlation of European names and Arabic nicknames demands much further study. It perhaps should be observed that my spelling of these names has been provided by Egyptians, often by the persons bearing the names.

5. While Ibn (son (of)) Hassan is the historical name, the nickname correlating with Osman is Abu (father) Haffan. My informants explain this as probably due

to an earlier Abuh Haffan, which would mean "his father (is) Haffan." Similarly, then, with Abu 'Ali.

6. Structural analysis of Cairene phonemics and morphemics is the object of the doctoral investigation of Charles Harrell at Harvard University under the direction of Professor Charles Ferguson, who himself made a preliminary analysis of colloquial Arabic while he was in the Middle East as foreign service officer of the Department of State. The 1954–55 Fulbright linguistic team in Egypt worked on a tentative formulation of Cairene phonemics which was finally prepared by Professor W. Freeman Twaddell of Brown University as a teachers' manual, now being used in Egytian schools.

★ ★ ★

The Texans show more chivalry than the U. S. Weather Bureau and other federal agencies. They do not name their sandstorms Diane or Dolores, but give them masculine designations like Adam, Benson, Gus, or even Farouk, Casanova, El Diablo, etc.

★ ★ ★

Lazy Dog is the name of a new air force weapon, while a new atomic artillery rocket bears the name Honest John. Weapons have borne individual names for centuries. *Die faule Grete* was the name of a cumbersome piece of artillery used in the fifteenth century by Friedrich of Brandenburg in reducing the castles of his rebellious nobility. When John Sevier in 1780 led his sharpshooters to victory at Kings Mountain their Lancaster rifles had individual names like Mister True, Fire-and-be-damned, Old-Fetch-'em-hither etc.

House Nicknames

C. A. Weslager

So far as I am aware, the use of nicknames for houses occupied by private families is not a practice that is generally followed today in the U. S. However, slang terms or nicknames are often applied to business houses both in a specific and a generic sense. Such colorful expressions as "the Greasy Spoon," "the Bucket of Blood," and "the Hole in The Wall" have been used, for example, to designate specific eating establishments. Generic slang designations cover the gamut from "flea bag" and "flop house" (for low-grade lodgings) to "hock shop" (pawn shop)[1] and "cat house" (brothel). There are many others.

The word "joint" as applied to certain types of business enterprises has a multitude of associations: "clip joint," "beer joint," "booze joint," "eating joint," etc. In the carnival business a "crooked joint" is a concession where the customer is fleeced, whereas a "strong" or "straight joint" is one which is honest. It is of interest that as far back as the Middle English period "jointe," i. e., "joint," was used for a resort or abode.

In the early court records of the New Netherlands there occurs an interesting and unusual reference to the use of house nicknames in America by the Dutch colonists in 1655. The court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck (at present Albany, N. Y.) was an inferior bench of judicature composed of the comissary of the fort and commissarissen, or local magistrates. On Feb. 2, 1655, Claes Gerritsz was summoned by the court and asked whether he was guilty of bestowing certain house nicknames then in circulation. He denied guilt, placing the blame on Cornelis Vos.[2]

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[1] My Dutch informant, Donald Driebeek, tells me that the word "lombard" from Lombardy is widely used in Europe as the slang designation for a pawn shop.

[2] *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange & Beverwyck 1652–1656*, trans. and ed. A. J. Van Laer, Vol. 1, Albany, 1920, p. 199

Gerritsz testified further that he learned from Vos "out of his own mouth" that he had given the names in question which appear in the second column below:

Owner	*House Nickname*	*Translation*[3]
Jan Thomasz	het Koeckoeck Nest	the cuckoo nest
Goosen Gerritsen	de Eendracht	concord (state of agreement and harmony)
Rut Jacobsz	Soesende Wint	the whistling wind (the soughing wind)
Jan van Aecken	het Vinckenest	the finch's nest
Andryes Herpertsz	t' Huys Onbeschoft	the house of ill manners
Philip Pietersz Schuldert	Vliegende	fly like the wind (flying wind)
Evert Wendel	de Vogel Grijp	the griffin (the grasping bird)
Gerrit Jansz	Haspel in de Sack op det Dack	House of discord (Literal: spool in the bag on the roof)
Dirck Jansz Kroon	de Spaerpot	the savings bank (Literal: the saving pot, i. e., "piggy bank")
Mother Bogaerdus	die Gierswerelt	the vulture world
Volckert Jansz	de Vogelsanck	the bird song
Mr. Renssealer	Vroegh bedorven	spoiled early
Pieter Hertgert	het Huysmusgen	the little sparrow
The Eating House	Selden satt[4]	seldom satisfied

[3] The translations are Van Laer's, *op. cit.* However, Mr. Driebeek reviewed the translations for me, and although he found nothing objectionable in Van Laer's renditions, he felt that further shades of meaning were present in some of them. I have indicated these in parentheses. All of the words are, of course, 17th century Dutch forms and some of them had nuances which escape us today.

[4] Willem Fredrixsz testified that Claes Gerritsz was responsible for naming the eating house and also the house of Cornelis Vos. The nickname for the latter house was also "het Vinckenest," like the one listed above for Jan van Aecken. *Op. cit., p. 201.*

It is obvious that certain of these house nicknames were reproachful and intended to hold the residents up to ridicule. Cuckoldry is perhaps suggested in the name *het Koeckoeck Nest*; *t' Huys Onbeschoft* apparently characterized residents of slovenly manners; miserliness is suggested in *de Spearpot*; and Mother Bogaerdus must have been a crone to have had her home designated as *die Giers-werelt*. Mr. Rensselaer, probably related to the patroon, must have been indulged by parents in his childhood to have warranted the house label *Vroegh bedorven*.

Selden satt as the name of an eating place is probably an example of folk humor, and can we not imagine that the occupant of *de Vogelsanck* may have been possessed of a voice that was anything but musical? Van Laer has another suggestion: in Gouda, *de Vogelenzang* was a street assigned to women of ill fame.

We can only guess at what domestic turbulence must have justified the nickname *Haspel in de Sack op het Dack*. Van Laer helps our understanding of this term by pointing out that persons who disagree are referred to in Dutch idiom as *haspels in een zak*, i. e., "spools in a bag." He also explains that *het Huysmusgen* was used figuratively in old Dutch for a homebody.

The outcome of the charges made against Cornelis Vos, and what penalty was inflicted, is still a mystery. He was summoned again to clear himself of the charge of "having given the familiar nicknames and to explain the meaning of the words and to declare what induced him thereto and who advised him to do so and whether he did it alone or who helped him with it."[5] On April 27, 1655, he reappeared in court and stated that he was not guilty of nicknaming the houses; he was told to submit his replication in legal form and this was done on May 9.[6]

There the records end.

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[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 210

[6] Op. cit., pp. 213, 218

Surnames in American Wordplay

C. Grant Loomis

Wordplay and punning lie at the basis of a very large segment of American journalistic humor, particularly in the pioneer days before the Civil War. Hackneyed traces persist to our own times in the belabored efforts of professional gag-men, those feeders of jests to the frequently feeble purveyors of wit on radio and television programs. In sturdier days, patterns of double meaning were numerous. Any word, phrase, regional allusion, or name might serve as a stimulation for the creation of a pun within a particular formula, such as the Wellerism, riddle, conundrum, proverb, epigram, definition, and the cliché.[1] Rough and ready editorial comment likewise ventured to apply a double meaning to given names and to surnames, whenever the opportunity arose. The laws of libel have long since put an end to the invective-elements of such wordplay. In earlier times, the editor risked bodily harm frequently for the sake of a jibe which he could evolve from a name. Such allusions were dated commonly by political situations, as well as by contemporary manners and customs. However, such name-punning can claim no originality as a formula. Examples may be found in all European languages, as well as in antiquity. Only the variations of application suggest specialized American coloration.

A convenient source for illustration of name-punning appears in a rare book, *Prenticeana, or Wit and Humor in Paragraphs*, New York, 1860. The author and compiler, G. D. Prentice, old-time newspaper man, noted the origin of his selections in his foreword: "It (the book) is made up of a portion of the paragraphs that I have written for the *Louisville Journal* (Kentucky) during the last twenty-nine years, and a few of those written for the *New York Ledger* within the last two years." Among the several hundred selections which consist of a few lines to as much as half a page,

[1] See my studies in *Western Folklore* as follows: VIII, 216–236; 243–247; 348–357; IX, 147–152; XIV, 110–113; and 229–245.

Prentice's propensity for name-play appears frequently. One may assume that his efforts were only a slight representation of a common usage. The illustrations are sufficiently varied, however, to display the possibilities of punning in this vein.

The following arrangement begins with the name which is subject to wordplay, selects, then, the pertinent section of the paragraph which yields the punning-application, and annotates, when necessary, the phraseology of more than a century ago by reference to *A Dictionary of Americanisms* (edited by Mitford M. Mathews, 2 vols., U. of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951. Referred to as *Mathews*).

1. *Aker.* Mr. Aker... is a wise-aker (p. 109). Wiseacre: in the sense of foolish fellow; one who thinks himself wise. English origin.

2. *Bagg.* Mr. Bagg... like many other bags, is getting mealy mouthed (p. 176). Mealy mouthed: hypercritical, hairsplitting. English origin.

3. *Barry.* Probably his voice is a fine Barry-tone (p. 95). Baritone, spelled formerly, Barytone.

4. *Bean.* Mr. Bean... shelled out (p. 35). Shell out: to pay up or hand over. *Mathews*, 1857. Probably earlier.

5. *Bender.* Mr. Bender hurt Mr. Scott. The latter is not the first damaged by a bender (p. 297). Bender: a drinking spree. *Mathews*, 1846. Probably earlier.

6. *Belly.* Mr. Belly is cramped (p. 243). To be cramped: to be lacking in funds. Not in *Mathews*.

7. *Bill.* Bill Johnson says that Gen. Harrison's private character is not reputable. That's a lie-Bill (p. 44).

J. S. Bill has set up a shaving shop. Whenever he takes off his beard, he shaves a bad Bill (p. 217). Shave: an exorbitant discount on a note. To cheat. *Mathews*, 1807.

8. *Bower.* Mr. G. J. Bower whipped his wife, and she left him. She was the right Bower, and he was the left one (p. 252). Bower: card game, euchre. The right bower (jack) is higher. *Mathews*, 1830.

9. *Boyle.* A pettifogger was chastised by a lawyer named Boyle. He got into hot water and was Boyled (p. 63).

10. *Brewer.* Mr. and Mrs. Brewer of Wayne Co. have 22 children. Theirs is, perhaps, the most extensive brewery in the West (p. 47).

11. *Bucket.* Ned Bucket expresses the wish that we were dead. Let him show himself in person and we pledge ourselves to kick

the Bucket (p. 38). To kick the bucket: to die. Originally, kick meant to die. The phrase is not noted by *Mathews*.

12. *Bullit.* A gentleman killed himself in Florida for the love of a Miss Bullit. The poor fellow could not live with a Bullit in his heart (p. 296).

13. *Bush.* A couple of robbers fell upon John Bush of Baton Rouge and robbed him of a shin-plaster. That was taking the rag from the Bush (p. 56). Shin-plaster: poor paper money. *Mathews*, 1824. To take the rag from the bush: to surpass, excel. Perhaps a target for rifle-shooting. *Mathews*, 1810.

14. *Buswell.* Mary Ann Buswell has been indicted for having three husbands. If her personal accomplishments are in keeping with her name, she can no doubt get as many husbands and lovers as she pleases (p. 252). Buss: kiss. English.

15. *Carr.* A Mr. Carr of Mississippi declares for Yancy's southern league. Here's a Carr off the track. Fortunately it is an empty one (78).

16. *Cherry.* Mr. Hall has been indicted for biting off the nose and part of the ear of Samuel Cherry. He was wrong to make two bites of a cherry (p. 31). Old proverb.

17. *Clapp.* We have fairly caught our neighbor Clapp at last. — *Wisconsin Democrat.* We presume you did it whith Clap-trap (p. 257). Claptrap: tricky or hyperbolic language. English.

18. *Cooley.* Our advise to Mr. Cooley can be given in a few words. If any political opponent chastise you... take it Cooley (p. 57). Take it cooly: to act calmly, but here, take means: put up with, endure.

19. *Crickett.* Two cousins, named Crickett, were married last week... We are opposed to such crickett-matches (p. 26).

20. *Day.* A locofoco postmaster in New Hampshire, named Day, has been charged with malfeasance in office. He has called his clerks as witness. They are expected to lie for him. That is no doubt the order of the Day (p. 161).

Mr. Day of Colchester has brought action against his neighbor for stealing his dog. No doubt he thinks that every dog should have his day, and every Day his dog (p. 37).

21. *Ditto.* We have received a locofoco paper published by a Mr. H. A. Ditto. We do not say that Ditto is a knave but many of his party are, and he is —— Ditto (p. 78).

22. *Dorr.* A Mr. Dorr has declined a challenge in Missouri. He says he will fight under no circumstances. He is no battle-door (p. 35). Battledore: a racket used to strike the shuttlecock in a game. Here: He is not one to strike back.

23. *Dutee.* Rhode Island has declined to re-elect Dutee J. Pearce to Congress. She has discharged her Dutee (p. 50).

24. *Fall.* J. S. Fall, a Mississippi editor, asks when we shall get wise. Undoubtedly before Fall if ever (p. 36).

25. *Field.* A. W. Field suggests that the Whigs run the devil for the next presidency. We rather guess that the devil will take the Field without any agency on the part of the Whigs (p. 135).

26. *Fitz.* The *Illinois Democrat* boasts that an American named Fitz Hubert has joined the Democracy. We have no objection to giving them Fitz (p. 243). To give some one fits: to scold violently. *Mathews*, 1844. Probably earlier.

27. *Fox.* The *Alabama Journal* says that Mr. Fox of the House of Representatives is full of fire. Fox-fire, we presume (p. 52). Fox-fire: phosphorescent light emitted by decaying timber, hence, of no danger. Originally English but common in the U. S. only. *Mathews*, 1853. Probably earlier.

28. *Frost – Fry.* Miss Frost of Mass., sued a Mr. Fry for a breach of promise of marriage and recovered $ 365 damages. He courted her a year and had to pay a dollar a day! We should say that Miss Frost was pretty thoroughly fried, and Mr. Fry pretty thoroughly frosted (p. 121).

29. *Gill.* Messrs. E. & S. A. Gill... announce their abandonment of the Democratic party. There's no chance for the Democracy to escape, now that the Opposition have got hold of their Gills (p. 256). To have hold of the gills: Way of carrying a fish so that it cannot escape.

30. *Goe.* In one of the strong Jackson counties of North Carolina, the Democrats put Mr. J. Goe upon their ticket. He was a popular man, but the result was no Goe (p. 34). Go: prize fight. Here to be no contention.

31. *Goliah.* An editor in the West boasts that his enemies will find him a young David. Very few read his paper without feeling disposed to exclaim – Go-liar! (p. 149).

32. *Grubb.* The English papers speak of the daughter of an old miser named Grubb, who lately married and is exciting quite a

sensation in the fashionable world. Nothing is more natural than that ceasing to be a Grubb she should become a butterfly (p. 238).

33. *Hardy.* The editor of the *Eastern Mercury* says that the Whig party is losing strength. In as much as his name is Hardy, we can't better reply to him than by the old quotation, "There is no fool like the fool-Hardy" (p. 56).

34. *Hurry.* A quizzical editor in Arkansas, who rejoices in the name of Harry Hurry, says that truth is generally slow in progress. Probably it is never in such a Hurry as he (p. 6).

35. *Hood.* Mr. William Hood was robbed near Corinth, Alabama. The Corinth paper says that the name of the highwayman is unknown, but there is no doubt that he was Robbin' Hood (p. 27).

36. *Hooe.* W. H. Hooe, a postmaster in Vermont, publishes that two hundred dollars of the public funds are missing from his office, and asks, "Who has got the money?" Possibly echo may answer – Hooe (p. 61).

37. *Horn.* Mr. A. H. Horn of the *Southern Argus* makes some unintelligible threats against us. His language sounds belligerent. Is he a powder-Horn? (p. 79).

38. *Hunt.* So far as the gentleman is concerned he is a vain and unprofitable Hunt (p. 8).

39. *Jennie.* Mrs. Jennie R., a danseuse, is advertised to whirl fifteen times on one foot without stopping. She is a spinning-jenny (p. 166).

40. *Bergen.* J. O. Berger has been appointed postmaster in Alabama. We hope the government will not find him a bad J. O. B. (p. 74).

41. *Keitt.* Keitt of South Carolina is soaring aloft before Palmetto audiences on the "Study of Nature." His constituents can't do better than let him fly (p. 220). That is, let him go. See the expression: Go fly your kite! meaning, to be gone.

42. *Kenny.* In the swamps of Louisiana, a catamount leaped from a tree and attacked Mr. William Kenny. The animal didn't prove to be a Kill-kenny cat (p. 180). Kilkenny cats were two which fought until only their tails remained. *English Oxford Dictionary*, 1852. Probably earlier.

43. *Knott-Shott.* A duel was fought in Mississippi by Mr. T. Knott and Mr. A. W. Shott. The result was that Knott was shot and Shott was not (p. 123).

"Do you think me guilty of a falsehood?" asked Mr. Knott of a gentleman he was addressing. "Sir, I must render a verdict of Knott guilty." (p. 191).

44. *Knower.* Mr. J. C. Knower of Iowa confesses that he has travelled around at least one-third of the entire political circle. We suppose that the portion of the circle he has travelled around may properly be styled Knower's Arc (Noah's Ark) (p. 114).

45. *Lamb.* Mrs. A. Pratt of Philadelphia, aged seventy-five, has married a young man named Lamb. One would think that she is old enough to desire peace and quiet instead of having a bed-lamb always about her (p. 240).

46. *Land.* A Rocky Mountain correspondent of the *New York Post* who writes himself Henry E. Land, describes Oregon as the most delightful country in the world. Our citizens, if they choose, can go out there and see how the Land lies (p. 129).

47. *Longfellow.* A rhymer sends us some of his verses and describes himself as six feet four inches high. In spite of his height, he is no Longfellow (p. 28).

48. *Love.* Mr. John Love of Alabama was recently lost during a passage from Texas to Mexico. We had supposed that no Love would ever be lost between those countries (p. 33). Allusion to the Mexican troubles of 1845.

49. *Luse.* Mr. J. P. Luse has succeeded the Messrs. Terrill in the management of the *Lafayette* (Ind.) *Journal.* The Democratic papers all slandered the Terrills, and now we suppose they will be lying about Luse (p. 286).

50. *Lyon-Lamb.* Mr. H. Lyon, in a speech before the New York Legislature, asserted that the Whigs are seeking to ruin the country. Mr. Lamb of the *Lansingburgh Gazette* indorses the slander. Thus is the prophecy fulfilled. The Lyon and the Lamb shall lie together (p. 38).

51. *Mander.* We respectfully suggest to Mr. Henry J. Mander and his bride that they name their first boy Gerry, and their first girl Sally (p. 290).

52. *Mile.* A strong-fisted servant girl was recently assaulted by a couple of scoundrels, named John and Elam Mile, and flogged them both. We have heard that a miss was as good as a mile, but here was a case in which a miss was as good as two Miles, and a little better (p. 113).

53. *Moore.* We have received a North Carolina paper, purporting to be edited by James White Ainsley Moore. Instead of J. White A. Moor, he should have been christened J. Black-A. Moor (p. 43).

54. *Nat.* Nat Loomis of the *Southern Argus* may abuse us as much as he pleases. We do not war with gnats (p. 52).

55. *Obin.* A Mr. Henry Obin argues in favor of the immediate destruction of all banks. The Christian name of Obin should have been Jack (p. 255).

56. *Orr.* Mr. Orr of South Carolina desires to unite the North and the South. Orr is more likely to disjoin them. Or is a disjunctive conjunction (p. 265).

57. *Padd.* Mr. S. W. Padd advertises that he has lost his horse. We hope he'll not turn foot-pad (p. 37).

58. *Parr.* James Ray and John Parr have started a locofoco paper in Maine. Parr, in all that pertains to decency, is below zero; and Ray is below Parr (p. 99).

59. *Pike.* The personal appearance of Pike, the clever migratory editor, speaks of him as bald. We didn't suppose there was much growth upon Pike's Peak (p. 296). Peak, in the sense of the head of a person is not common. Not in *Mathews.*

60. *Pillow.* A friend sends us a letter of Gen. Pillow which he asks us to notice. We have more important matters on hand. When we have disposed of them, we may attend to the Pillow-case (p. 199).

61. *Poe.* Mr. L. A. Poe has had one Dr. Rivers indicted for kicking him. He calls the Doctor a savage. If the offender really is a savage, he probably belongs to the Kick-a-Poe tribe (p. 260).

62. *Polly Troone.* Mrs. Polly Troone has been convicted of slandering her neighbors. A good many unconvicted Pol-troons of the other sex are habitually guilty of the same offence (p. 7).

63. *P. O. Thomas.* The *Southern Mercury* says that Mr. P. O. Thomas has received his commission as Postmaster. So there's a post-office gone to P. O. T. (p. 64).

64. *Pott.* We have received a furious letter from Thomas Pott of Mississippi. He threatens our life. There is evidently "death in the Pot." (p. 37).

65. *Prince.* The *Eastern Telegraph* boasts that two brothers named Prince have deserted the Whig ranks and joined the Democrats. "Put not your trust in Princes." (p. 33).

66. *Rhule.* Mr. Henry A. Rhule says that he has worked zealously for the administration. Now let him turn and work faithfully against it. 'Tis a poor Rhule that won't work both ways' (p. 37).

67. *Jack Robinson.* John Robinson, the editor of a locofoco paper in Michigan, says that it is very easy to tell who is the most knavish politician in the United States. We admit that it is just as easy to tell, as it is to say, "Jack Robinson." (p. 174). An old saying, still in use. Not in *Mathews.*

68. *Role.* J. H. Role asks whether the silly Whigs will again put their big ball in motion. We rather think the smart ones will. The bawling of the Role will not prevent the rolling of the ball (p. 175).

69. *Rubb.* Mr. John Rubb publishes in a Mississippi paper that the Whigs are the corruptest party in the world. "There lies the Rubb." (p. 28).

70. *Rule.* In a recent criminal trial in Texas, a certain Gen. Rule took it in a high dudgeon because he was challenged by the Commonwealth's attorney. The sensitive gentleman ought to have remembered that there are exceptions to all Rules (p. 230).

71. *Shaw-Pugh.* An Alabama paper calls Mr. — - a Van Buren man, on the alleged authority of a Mr. Shaw of Tennessee and Mr. Pugh of the *Lexington Gazette.* To Shaw's authority we say pshaw! and to Pugh's, pooh! (p. 6).

72. *Shop.* Mr. J. W. Shop is a Democratic candidate for the Legislature in Vermont. No doubt the locofocos expect to lift him into office. A good many of them are great at Shop-lifting (p. 90).

73. *Smart.* Mr. J. Smart of St. Paul was prosecuted by a young widow for breach of promise. He settled the difficulty by marrying her. He made her Smart lest she should him (p. 288).

74. *Sparks-Flint.* Two men, Joseph Sparks and Oscar Flint were assailed in the suburbs of Baltimore by a gang of shoulder-hitters. Flint was knocked down, but his companion escaped by flight. When the scoundrels hit Flint, Sparks flew (p. 223).

75. *Spoon-Plate.* The *Upper Canada Standard* records the seduction and abduction of Miss Eloisa Spoon by Henry Plate. Old marvels are enacted anew. "The dish ran away with the Spoon." (p. 30).

76. *Starr.* A Mr. Starr of Georgia shot a Cherokee Indian the other day in the gold region. He is a shooting-Starr (p. 10).

77. *Stone.* Mr. James Stone of Mississippi denounces his own party for disfranchising that State. The Locofoco outrages make the very Stones cry out (p. 62).

A locofoco paper in New York professes to have cornered Col. Stone of the *New York Commercial.* We suppose the colonel has no objection to being considered a "corner-Stone". (p. 109).

78. *String.* Mr. Amaziah String advertises in the *Georgia Constitutionalist* that a young man has run off with his two daughters. That is outrageous. What's the use of two Strings to one beau? (p. 27).

79. *Sute.* The *Pennsylvania Democrat* acknowledges that Mr. M. R. Sute, a Democrat, will vote for Taylor. A good many other Democrats will follow Sute (p. 156).

80. *Terry.* All the locofoco papers in Alabama threaten the people of the State with terrible things if Terry should be beaten. The results show that the people were not to be Terry-fied (p. 125).

81. *Treat.* Mr. Treat is the principal editor of the *St. Louis Union*, although he does not venture to avow himself as such. The reason is that he is unpopular with the St. Louis locofocos, because he has been temperate in his locofocoism. We do not think that their own political intemperance is any good reason why they shouldn't stand Treat (p. 139).

82. *Webb.* A locofoco editor in Illinois was kicked the other day by Mr. Henry Webb. The fellow escaped by jumping into the Mississippi. We suppose that, finding himself web-footed, he thought the river his natural element(p. 133).

83. *Webster.* The *Georgia Constitutionalist* says that Mr. Wright is fully the equal of Mr. Webster in tearing from a question the web of sophistry. Indeed he isn't; he is very acute, but he can never make a web stir (p. 64).

84. *Woods.* A fellow named Woods is writing in an Indiana paper very intemperately in favor of cold water. We guess very little cold water ever passes that neck of the Woods (p. 291). Neck of the woods: backwoods expression for an out-of-the-way place. *Mathews*, 1839. Possibly older.

85. *Word.* Mr. Word of Mississippi will, we think, get a seat in Congress to which he has been fairly elected. The House is a talking body, but Mississippi will probably be able to thrust in a Word edgewise (p. 37).

86. *Worth.* Gen. Worth is a New Yorker, and no New York paper expresses a doubt of his Whiggism. There may be a good deal of merit among the Democratic officers and soldiers of the army, but there is no Worth among them — no general Worth, and, so far as we know, no private Worth (p. 163).

87. *Wright-Bright.* The quarrel between those two prominent Democrats, Governor Wright and Senator Bright of Indiana, still continues. A locofoco paper, friendly to both, says there is not much difference between them. There is some though. Bright is sometimes right, but Wright is never bright (p. 200).

88. *Young.* A writer in the *Literary Messenger* asks if there is no way to remain young? Certainly there is. She can go to Utah and marry Brigham (p. 295).

★ ★ ★

Menhaden, a well-known commercial fish is seldom known by its real name. Instead it is called alewife, bonyfish, bugfish, bughead, chebog, fatback, greentail, mossbunker, whitefish and other local names.

★ ★ ★

Money. The name of the town Money in Mississippi is somewhat misleading. There is not even a bank in the town. In fact, it has nothing to do with currency but was named after U. S. Senator H. D. Money.

Surnames of Trans-Allegheny Virginia
1750—1800 II

W. E. MOCKLER

Pronunciation

Investigation has demonstrated that the spellings of early English place names are not always a reliable register of pronunciations.[51] "In the great majority of cases, a scribe uses the spelling he has been taught for ordinary words, and in the case of place names that which he finds in the document he is copying, making no change; this is the traditional spelling. . . ."[52] The customary written form may even influence pronunciation or lead to the preservation of spellings (such as the English *Daventry* for *Daintry*) which record artificial pronunciations.[53]

When proper names lose contact, however, with traditional written forms – as in the break from an older culture – phonetic spellings often take precedence over the traditional. Such was the case with the surnames of early western Virginia, where, in the seating of a new population of diverse origins, phonetic and traditional spellings stood side by side, and where not seldom the former displaced the latter altogether as the recorded form.

Even when a name went unchanged morphologically, an occasional stray spelling casts sufficient light for establishing the sound-pedigree of the surname, and, by extension, for ascertaining the pronunciation of certain ordinary words of speech which were invariable in spelling. The phonetic evidence thus proceeding from a study of eighteenth-century surnames is lent support by the results of modern dialect investigation.

Clues to the values of certain sounds in the speech of colonial Virginia are demonstrated as follows:

[51] Mawer and Stenton, p. 6.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

1. The change of Middle English [ɑ] to [æ] was not complete. (Cf. the pronunciation of "Calvert" as "Cawlvert" by natives of Calvert County, Maryland.)[54]

Asburn	Osborne
Cadwealleder	Codwaller
Tannahill	Taunnihill
Gallaher	Golloher
Fast	Faust
McCalley	McColley
McCann	McCohn
Saverns	Soverns
[Alberts]	Olbers

2. Middle English [ɑ] followed by *r* had the value of [æ]. This pronunciation is found today in British dialects and until a generation ago was still in use in remote regions of West Virginia, e. g. *arm* [ærm].[55]

Barden	Bearden
Carnes	Cairnes

3. Words which show normal development from Middle English *er* [e:r] to Modern English *ar* [ɑ:r] often retained the *er* spelling although the phonetic value was [ɑ:r]. (Except in such isolated cases as the county name Berkeley [ba:rklį][56], where the pronunciation changed to conform to spelling, the nineteenth century saw alteration in spelling to fit the pronunciation.) The [ɑ:r] pronunciation is still found in such words as *service*, *nearer*, *vermin*, *herb*.

Berkeley	Barclay
Ferguson	Farguson
Herenton	Harrington
Kerns	Carns
Merchand	Marchant
Merrical	Maracals
Person	Parson
Sterling	Starling

[54] William A. Kinney, "Roving Maryland's Cavalier Country," *The National Geographic Magazine*, CV (1954), 443.

[55] Apparently "D. Boone killed a *bar* on this tree" reflects the pronunciation [bær].

[56] Eighteenth-century western Virginia records reveal an occasional *Barclay* beside *Berkeley*.

4. The raising of Middle English [e:] to [i:], which occurred at the end of the seventeenth century and had become general by the middle of the eighteenth, was not complete.[57]

Heastings	Hastings
Leake	Lake
McCleary	McClary
Wheally	Whaley
Yeates	Yates

5. As in certain current West Virginia dialect pronunciations, e. g. [fæir], *fair*, [aeg], *egg*, [e:] seems to have been lowered occasionally to [æ].

Clegg	Clagg
[Clem]	Clam
Gillespie	Gillaspie
Kemp	Camp
[Luellen]	Luallen
Pierpoint	Pairpoint
Reynolds	Rannolds

6. In at least one case [æ] appears to have raised to [e:].

Haskins	Heskins

7. As in many modern instances, [e] and [i] alternated. (Cf. such local forms as *het* for *hit* (it), *let* for *lit*, *Nipton* for *Neptune*, and *rint* for *rent*.)

Jennings	Jinnings
Pendell	Pindle
McKenney	McKinney

8. One example of [e:] apparently diphthongizing as [ɑi] occurs.

McClain	McCline

9. The modern West Virginia dialect pronunciation of *china* as *cheny* [tʃe:nį] (e. g. *cheny* ware) appears to be reflected by one alternate spelling.

China	Cheney

[57] Cf. Shakespeare's rhyming of *clean* with *lane* and Pope's rhyming of *Tea* with *obey*.

10. An apparent instance of *u* as the sound [u:] when it is ordinarily [ụ] occurs with one name. (Cf. present-day dialect pronunciations *boosh* for *bush*; *poosh* for *push*.)

Cushman	Coochman

11. That *u* not infrequently had the value of [ʌ:] seems indicated. (Cf. the modern dialect forms *onder* for *under*; *plom* for *plum*; and *plonder* for *plunder*.)

Plum	Plom
Gulford	Galford
Crull	Croll
Murdock	Moredock

Vocabular Significances

As words long divested of meaning, names have resisted many of the stimuli which normally provoke variation or bring about disuse. It is not surprising, therefore, to find preserved even in the most ordinary surnames and baptismal names, as well as in place names, many older words of the language not otherwise extant. In the early Virginia surname *Bond*, for instance, is OE *bonda* 'serf'; in Camp is ON *kempa* 'warrior'; in *Crouch* is ME *crouche* 'cross' (connected with OE *crycc* 'crutch', 'staff'); in *Drake* is OE *draca* 'dragon'. in *Woodfin* is OE *wudu-fin* 'wood heap.' Such name survivals are an index both to cultural history and to language.

The search for special lexicographical significances in names has lead in recent years[58] to the scholarly investigation of our oldest body of surnames—those of the Middle English period. Such study has had important results. In the case of certain words first appearing as names, the date of earliest record has been pushed back as much as six centuries. Serving as an illustration is *stretende* found by Löfvenberg[59] as a surname (Roger de la Stretende) in 1262. The NED dates *streetend* from 1904. Fransson[60] gives fifteen occupational surnames whose earliest instances antedate more than five hundred years those of the NED, nine with instances antedating four to five hundred years the NED's, and thirty-two with instances antedating

[58] Löfvenberg credits Sir Allen Mawer in his paper "Some Unworked Sources for English Lexicography" (in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen on his Seventieth Birthday*, (1930) with suggesting the value of Middle English surnames as a source for the history of the English vocabulary.

[59] *Op. cit.*, p. xli.

[60] *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

three to four hundred years the NED's. Even more important, however, are the newly-recovered surnames—many of them compounded forms—which represent Old English words hitherto unknown. One may point by way of example to Ekwall's suggestion of an Old English common noun **hlammgeat* 'swinggate' as the source of the place name *Lamyatt* (Somerset) and to the verification of this postulation by Löfvenberg's discovery of the surname *atte Lomezate*.[61] Of a total of three hundred and seventy-three uncompounded name-words listed by Löfvenberg, no fewer than ninety-five are unrecorded in the NED.[62]

While the surnames appearing in medieval manuscripts have been given deserved attention and in turn have revealed much of linguistic interest, those of another peripheral area have remained untouched. These latter are the native British surnames which were lost except as they appear in records of colonial America. Of such names Bardsley remarks:

> It is curious to notice apparently extinct surnames in England crop up in the U. S. A.; v. for instance, Holy Peter, now Hollopeter across the Atlantic. It seems to have long died out in the old country. So with Liard, which I can only find in New York. The same remark applies to Pallister and to Chickin . . .[63]

Among these fugitive surnames are doubtless some which left no trace in Britain even in remote times. As a potential source of material for both onomasticon and lexicon they need to be collected and scientifically examined.

Not all of the non-traditional surnames of English fabric that appear at an early date in trans-Allegheny Virginia had their origins in the British Isles. Some, like *Brownfield*, may be anglicized German names. Others, such as *Whitecliff* and *Timberlake*, which actually stand for *Wycliff* and *Timperley*, reflect folk etymologies from this side of the Atlantic. Still others—perhaps *Rifle* and *Flintlock*—seem to have originated in the spirit of the frontier as the need for new names arose. Of the remaining non-traditional surnames, the majority represent obscure or extinct local names that have been brought to light by place name scholars in recent years. A small number, however, reveal hitherto unrecorded combinations or project word forms which antedate the earliest recognized instances:

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[61] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxviii. [62] *Ibid.*, p. xl.

[63] *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 6.

Beakwade. An unnoted compound of Nth. *beek* 'rivulet' plus *wade* 'ford.'

Bobinett. A surname appearing on the Allegheny frontier in 1784. The NED's first instance of *bobinett* is from 1832.

Boydstone. The unusual combination of a Celtic first element, Gael. *boidh* 'yellow,' and an OE second element, *stān* 'stone.' Or the pers. n. Boyd, a derivative of Gael. *boidh* 'yellow-haired,' plus *tūn* ('Boyd's homestead') may be represented.

Burchfield. A surname that may be an unrevealed place name containing the OE elements *birce* 'birch' and *feld* 'field,' with the significance of 'cultivated land near a birch grove or coppice.'

Calmire. An unrecorded compound of *calf* and *mire*, apparently signifying a muddy spot or enclosure in which calves were permitted to run. *Cal-* (OE *cealf*) is a common initial element in local names of the Anglian region.

Fornelson. A surname that appears to contain an unrecorded OE personal name *Fornel* or *Farnel*, similar in form to O. Scand. *Forni*, which is sometimes found in place names of the Anglian counties. Had the name developed from the latter, however, *Fornson*, rather than *Fornelson*, would have resulted.

Hardesley. An unnoted compound containing the OE personal name *Hererēd* and OE *lēah* 'open land.'

Hogmire. An unrecorded compound of *hog* and *mire*. *Mire* here and in *Calmire* seems to be used in a more specific sense (i. e. as an enclosure) than is indicated by other more common Nth. English *-mire* names—e. g. *Blamire*, *Longmire*, *Tranmire*, *Pundermire*.

Meander. A surname appearing on the frontier in 1784. The NED finds *meander* as a verb first used in a *personal* sense in 1831 (e. g. "He went meanderin.") The noun *meanderer* dates from 1889.

Sisco. Apparently a northern English name combining the ON personal name *Siggi* and ON *skógr* 'wood,' (i. e. 'Siggi's wood'). Cf. *Brisco.*

Tumblestone. A compound that may contain as a first element an unrecognized OE personal name 'Tumbel' or 'Timbel' and having the significance of 'Tumbel's *tūn* or homestead.'

Taboos and Surname Change

Surnames undergo change principally in two ways: 1) through an evolutionary process of gradual, unintentional, and frequently

unconscious mutation, and 2) through a conscious alteration that may transform a name orthographically or phonetically, or may involve the actual discard of a name in favor of a totally different one. The first of these has been with dealt above. The second, as it affected the surnames of western Virginia during and after the eighteenth century, will be the subject of the succeeding paragraphs.

The *intentional* change of a surname results almost exclusively from the name's assumption of meaning. This meaning may or may not be that which is associated with the ordinary words of speech; more than likely, it lies with the name's symbology. When the name comes to signalize a condition which sets apart the bearer, it immediately becomes subject to change.

Various factors induce the attachment of special significances that bring about changes in names:

A. Change may be effected from religious considerations.

Because it implied Irish extraction and hence allegiance to Catholicism, the Celtic surnominal prefix *O'* was taboo on the Allegheny frontier.[64] One early pioneer went so far as to have written into court records an apology he received for having been wrongly endowed with an *O'* name. The situation is described by Boyd B. Stutler in the *West Virginia Review*.[65]

"In 1774 Joseph and Samuel McClung had charge of collecting the tithes of the citizens of the Greenbrier watershed, that section then being a part of Botetourt County. In the prosecution of this duty, some time in 1775, they posted a notice listing the men liable for this tax. At that time Andrew Donnally was living on Sinking Creek.... In some way the McClungs had heard a rumor that Donnally had changed his name or shortened it by omitting an *O*; that his name was really O'Donnally; and that he was a papist. In posting the list of tithables the McClungs wrote the name as

[64] The Rev. Patrick Woulfe in *Irish Names and Surnames*, p. xxxii quotes:

By Mac and O
You'll always know
True Irishmen, they say;
But if they lack
Both O and Mack
No Irishmen are they.

(Mac's use by Scots as well as Irish made it an acceptable prefix.)

[65] Boyd B. Stutler, "Annals of the Mountain State," *The West Virginia Review*, VII (1930), 174.

rumor told them it should be written—they flatly accused him by calling him O'Donnally. Great was the wrath of the injured citizen. He declined to receive a verbal apology; the insult had been given publicly and the retraction must be made the same way. Therefore he required the McClungs to prepare a formal statement setting out the facts and apologizing for the insult, and, after this document had been witnessed by...neighbors of Donnally, it was taken before the Botetourt County court at the May term, 1776, where it was proved in due and solemn form and ordered to be recorded...."

Undoubtedly this antipathy is reflected in the paucity of *O'* names on the frontier generally. Only four appear in early Monongalia records. One instance of *James O'Cochran* beside the excised *James Cochran* occurs in a deed of survey for 1783. (In other records, only *James Cochran* is mentioned.) The slip is revealing. Woulfe gives *O'Cochran* as an Irish surname; and Black goes so far as to point out that use of *Cochrane* as a concealment for the transplanted Irish *O'Corcoran* is well known in Scotland.[66] Elsewhere are found *O'Bryan*, *O'Finn*, and *O'Glesby*, but of the last there is some doubt. Its alternation in a deed from 1783 with *Oglesby*, a traditional English form (*Oegel's* or *Oeguald's* 'settlement or farmstead'), leads to the belief that it may be a scribal misliteration. Of more than three thousand names of family heads given in the first Federal Census (1790) for Washington County, Pennsylvania (a portion of which was orginally included in Monongalia), only one *–O'Brine*—bears the *O'* prefix.

Today, in certain regions of West Virginia, *Kelley*, *Murphey*, and *Rian* are traditional 'Protestant' spellings, while their counterparts, *Kelly*, *Murphy*, and *Ryan*, are looked upon as 'Catholic.' The names first occur as *Kelly* (1781), *Murphy* (1781), and *Ryan* (1782). *Murphey* appears in 1782, *Kelley* in 1796, *Rian* not until after 1800. Two names in later use also mirror religious dissidence: *McCarty* and *Hennessee* were originated by Protestants to mark a distinction from 'Catholic' *McCarthy* and *Hennessey*.[67]

B. Change may be effected from political considerations.

The restrictions placed upon settlement in northwestern Virginia are reflected in surname change. Fear that an influx of Pennsyl-

[66] Black, *op. cit.*, p. xlv.

[67] Mrs. Anna Morrell McCarty, formerly of Morgantown, and Mr. Eugene Hennessee, of Parkersburg, are my informants.

vania Germans would loosen Virginia's claim to the region led a Monongalia court, in May, 1772, to decree that "no Bedford County people are by any agreement made after this date [to] be allowed to homestead any land West of the Mohongalo River, from the Lakes to the Greenbrier. . . ."[68] Four months later the following case came before the court:

> Complaint made by Edward Scott and ten settlers of Upper Tingooqua Creek and Eckerlin Run against one Jacob Zeller and four sons as being obnoxious to said complainant. The Corte bei ng of desire to hold this Virginia territory as made in agreement . . in 1767 – that no Penn settlers be allowed to make Tomahawk claims on Virginia lands – did set Ord on September 2nd – the sheriff bring the Zeller family into Corte on this day, September 4th, 1772 . . . . The Corte do find no obnoxious claim made by Zellers, now declare Edward Scott– complaint set by– and make clear all the Ords of Virginia Rights – and same being made to them– *the Zeller name being changed to Sellers– by Ord of the Corte* and made by oath and so made in this Corte record by Ord of Camp Cat Fish Corte this 4th day of September 1772.[69]

Such direct anglicizings as that of 'Zeller' to 'Sellers' may have been more common than the records show. Schuricht, in writing of German settlement in the Valley of Virginia, points to the early appearance of the translated forms 'Carpenter,' 'Hunter,' and 'Greentree' from 'Zimmermann,' 'Jaeger,' and 'Gruenebaum."[70] Local feeling elsewhere in western Virginia doubtless encouraged similar substitutions which are not revealed.

C. Change may be effected from social considerations.

In the newly-awakened social consciousness of the nineteenth century, not a few names came to represent, indirectly, meaningful significations or to possess meaning within themselves as words. Illustrative of the former are the names 'Croston,' 'Male,' and 'Newman' which in one region are exclusively used by the people called Guineas; and the labels are freely spoken of as "Guinea names." In another community, 'Cross' has come to signify Negro blood in a predominantly white strain.

Other local conditions sometimes attach opprobrium to names. Circumstances of indolence, poverty, and even ignorance may so color a name that, in time, the name and the state become

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[68] Horn, *op. cit.*, I, 75.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 86–7. (The italics are mine.)

[70] Herrmann Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia*, I, 77, 95, 203, ff.

synonymous. One family informally changed 'Hawkinberry' to 'Hillberry,' in the hope, no doubt, that reproach would fade with the name. For the same reason 'Mike' was changed to 'Michael'.

Because of its connotation as a meaningful word, 'Coon' (sometimes spelled *Koon*), which had appeared as a frontier surname as early as 1781, was legally changed by one family to 'Koen.' In a similar case, the eighteenth-century 'Snodgrass,' after court appeal, became 'Ketterer.'

In the late nineteenth century there began a fashion in surnames that has seen the shifting of accent from first to second syllable in a number of disyllabic names. This phonetic alteration, which does not always extend to orthography, apparently was motivated by a sense of social consciousness and took place at a time when a corresponding shift was under way in such common nouns as *garage*, *restaurant*, and *chauffeur*. In certain instances the change can be justified as a return to an original form:

Arnett	Arnett(e)
Barnet	Barnette
Burdin	Burdine
Galion	Galyean
Lazell	Lazell(e)
Odel	O'Dell
Sinkler	Sinclair
Waddel	Waddell

D. Change may be effected from considerations of personal safety.

What must have been the common type of intentional name change in the eighteenth century—that proceeding from a desire to conceal identity—is the one least frequently discernible; for seldom did the advantage of lifting the veil of anonymity, especially for public record, outweigh the expedience of keeping it lowered. Just such a rare case, however, is that of Richard Thomas Atkinson, who enlisted in the Virginia Militia in 1776 under the name of Richard Thomas. Applying in 1819 for a Revolutionary pension[71], he made the following statemant before the Monongalia County Court:

[71] *Revolutionary Pensioners of Monongalia County* (*Revolutionary Soldiers Who Applied for Pensions in Monongalia County*), p. 2.

The reason I enlisted in the name Richard Thomas was that previous to the Revolution . . . I was a soldier in the British servise and was advised to enlist in the name of Thomas for fear if [I] was taken prisoner [I] would be known by [my] full name.

(Signed) Richard Thomas Atkinson

In the absence of any detail, one may wonder whether Atkinson had been a deserter from the British Army. If such was the situation, he was not the first to seek freedom from Army service in the western wilderness. The earliest settlers on the headwaters of the Monongahela were the Eckarly brothers from eastern Pennsylvania who in 1753, because of religious scruples, had come to escape military duty;[72] and the men who opened the way to settlement of the Buckhannon Valley were the Pringles—John and Samuel—who in 1761 had fled the garrison at Fort Pitt.[73]

Outlawry on the western Virginia frontier, however, was not represented alone by a few Army deserters. Indeed, if the assertion of one writer can be accepted, the earlier frontier communities of the Monongahela country were "filled with criminals and outlaws from the older settlements east of the mountains," and the blessings brought by the genuine pioneer "were enjoyed by thousands of adventurers of every grade from the cutthroat knave to the polished land-shark."[74]

Some historians have maintained that the country watered by the Monongahela, the Ohio, and the Kanawha was settled in large part by the indentured white servants of tidewater Virginia, who, in the great exodus of that class, made their way westward.[75] Other historians have denied this claim.[76] But as early as 1717, Governor Spotswood of Virginia, writing of the outward movement of white freedmen, was saying, "The inhabitants of our frontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as servants, and being out of their time settled themselves where land is to be

[72] Samuel T. Wiley, *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia*, p. 32.

[73] Richard Ellsworth Fast and Hu Maxwell, *The History and Government of West Virginia*, p. 44.

[74] Archer Hulbert, *The Ohio River*, p. 88. This historian says again, p. 195, "The lawless condition of the land and its comparatively small number of inlaws made the West a haven for outlaws from the southern and eastern states."

[75] See Boyd B. Stutler, "Annals of the Mountain State," *The West Virginia Review*, VII, (1930), 357.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

taken up...."[77] The institution of indentured servitude lasted throughout the colonial period. A French traveler writing in 1765 observed that "...the number of Convicts and indented servants imported to Virginia [is] amazing...."[78] How widespread was the practice of absconding is impossible to determine although running away seems to have been the most common misdoing of servants in the colonies.[79] Doubtless many who fled their bonds found sanctuary beyond the Blue Ridge under different names.

Of the felons transported from England to America for penal servitude, Smith[80] says,

> As for the convicts, their ultimate fate is shrouded in mystery, where it is perhaps as well that it should remain. William Eddis[81] remarked that most of them either found their way back to England after their seven or fourteen years was finished, or else they moved to different parts of the colonies and took up a new career under assumed names.

However nebulous the pattern, however vague the circumstances, discarding of names and identities on the slopes of the Alleghenies can hardly have been uncommon. Indeed, the assumption of new names for the purpose of avoiding recognition—especially with the growth of population following the Revolution—may well have been extensive. In the absence of any other data, the incidence of non-traditional surnames and of baptismal names as surnames appears to form the only tangible evidence on the subject.

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[77] Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage, White Servitude and Convict Labor in America*, 1607–1776, p. 297.

[78] "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI, (1921), 744. The importation of servants seemed to have been at its peak about the middle of the eighteenth century. (See Eugene Irving McCormac, "White Servitude in Maryland, 1634–1820." *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences*, Series XXII, (1904), 107.)

[79] "Servants would plot how they might run away even before they landed in Virginia and under the liberty given them on the plantations, and with an accessible back country, it was not a difficult matter to accomplish." (James Curtis Ballagh, "White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences*, Thirteenth Series, (1895), 53. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–65 and McCormac, *op. cit.*, p. 48.)

[80] *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

[81] Eddis came from England in 1769 as secretary to Governor Eden of Maryland. His *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 Inclusive* appeared in London in 1792.

Surnames in Frontier Place Names

The early West Virginia surname 'Doddridge' (which has become a place name)[82] will serve as a subject for exemplifying the terminal theory of Old English place names and at the same time for demonstrating the value of topographical name investigation to surname study.

As shown by Kökeritz,[83] a name's terminal element may assume special significance in the derivation of an obscure first element. Non-habitative terminals (words denoting natural features, e. g. OE *hyll*, *cumb*, *dūn*) favor the descriptive word as a first constituent while personal names are much more frequent in compounds with habitative terminals (words denoting homesteads or places characterized by various forms of human activity, e. g. OE *hām*, *tūn*, *worþ*).[84]

Of 'Doddridge' Bardsley says only that it is of local origin and represents some spot in County Devon which he is unable to find.[85] Harrison goes further in etymologizing, but stops with 'Dodda's Ridge,' the first element of which he identifies as a personal name and the second as OE *hrycg*, 'ridge.'[86] Those who hold with the terminal theory, however, would seek another first element. In the present circumstance, it seems to me that a most likely alternative to the personal name is OE **dod(d)* seen in ME *dod* 'rounded summit,' (Mod. Engl. dial. *dod*, *dodd*) and ME *dodden* (Mod. Engl. *dod*) 'to make the top or head of anything blunt, rounded or bare' (NED).[87]

In the light of the terminal theory of Old English place names, the incidence of surnames in the stream nomenclature of early western Virginia forms an interesting pattern. Of one hundred and

[82] Doddridge County, West Virginia.

[83] Helge Kökeritz, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight*, (*Nomina Germanica*, Arkiv för germansk namnforskning utgivet av Jöran Sahlgren, Nr. 6), pp. lxxxi, lxxxii. Kökeritz is one of several, notably Zachrisson, who have utilized the terminal theory.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. lxxxii.

[85] *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, p. 87.

[86] *Op. cit.*, I, 117.

[87] The *NED* says of *dod*, *dodd*: "sb. *north dial.* In North of England and South of Scotland a frequent term for a rounded summit or eminence, either as a separate hill, or more frequently a lower summit or distinct shoulder or boss of a hill." Cf. von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–5, and Tengvik, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–11.

sixty-six watercourse names still current in the twentieth century in northern West Virginia and recorded as early as the Revolutionary period,[88] eleven designate rivers, sixty-six, creeks, and eighty-nine, runs and branches. A surname combines with *river* only twice to form a compound[89] (*Tygart's River*, *Hughes River*) while in the other nine river names, descriptive words are employed as first elements. Correspondingly, *creek* has nineteen instances of surnames against forty-seven compounds with descriptive words. With *run* and *fork* as terminals, however, surnames predominate as first elements in a ratio of sixty-one to twenty-eight.

Regardless of how precisely the computation here reflects the terminal theory as it applies to Old English names, the conclusion may be reached that the smaller the stream, the more personal becomes its association and the more often does its designation incorporate a surname.

The need for such a formula as that employed by students of Old English local names is not lacking with regard to present-day place nomenclature. A case in point is 'Otter Creek,' a tributary of Tygart's River, which appears as 'Aughter's Creek' and 'Outer's Creek' in the earliest records. The spelling and the genitival *s* point to a stream title of surnominal origin. On the other hand, the creek as a natural feature is most frequently denoted by a descriptive word rather than by a personal name. In similar fashion 'Gnatty Creek', a branch of Elk Creek, which appears first (1781) as 'Natta Creek' (perhaps from the surname Van Natta) may or may not have received its present designation through folk etymology. An interesting case also is that of 'Windy Run', a tributary of Tygart's River. Here the question is whether the modern name represents the eighteenth-century surname 'Whendy,' which was preserved for a time in 'Whendy's Run' before disappearing altogether, or whether it is merely a descriptive epithet.

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[88] *Reports of Commissioners on Adjustment of Claims to Unpatented Lands, Monongalia, Yohogania, and Ohio Counties, Virginia and West Virginia* (1779–1783), p. 1 ff.

[89] The meaning of *Buckhannon* (River) is in dispute. It is most frequently explained as an Indian word sometimes translated 'brick river' or 'breaker in pieces' and sometimes held to be the name of a Delaware chief, *Buckongahelas*. (See Hammil Kenny, *West Virginia Place Names*, pp. 135–136.)

Examples of this kind not only reveal the necessity for a carefully detailed examination of place names but also point up the intimate relationship existing between place names and surnames. As noted earlier, place name scholarship has much to contribute to surname study. The extent to which the latter is able to reciprocate, however, is not fully realized.

From Bynames to Middle Names

Like other Germanic peoples, the Anglo-Saxons, following the well-defined principles of alliteration, variation, and repetition, bestowed a single compounded or uncompounded name upon their off-spring.[90] Not infrequently, however, two persons of a village or of one family connection carried the same name, and out of the need for distinguishing between them grew the nickname or by-name[91]—precursor of the hereditary surname of later periods.

In use in England since the eighth century,[92] this early form of second name was, as a rule, no more than a loosely attached and changeable description which ceased to exist with the death of the person who bore it.[93]

That a need similar to that of earlier periods had arisen in eighteenth-century western Virginia and was being met by use of the secondary appellation is indicated from contemporary records:

The patronym as a byname is found in 'Van Swearingen son of John.'[94] Two grandsons of Morgan Morgan, the first settler in what is now West Virginia, are distinguished as 'Morgan Morgan son of James'[95] and 'Morgan Morgan the 3d.'[96] *The Third* is not alone here, being used in at least three other instances. *Junior*[97] and *senior* are very common; and once 'John Ramsay the lesser' stands with 'John Ramsay Senior.'[98]

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[90] See Woolf, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[91] *Byname* is here used in the sense of "a name other than the principal or main one; a subsidiary name or appellation." (*NED*)

[92] In *Beowulf*, for example: 'Scyld Scēfing,' 'Bēowulf bearn Ecgþēowes,' 'Unferð Ecglāfes bearn.'

[93] Tengvik, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[94] *Reports of Commissioners on Adjustment of Claims to Unpatented Lands, Monongalia, Yohogania, and Ohio Counties, Virginia, West Virginia*, p. 188.

[95] *Monongalia County District Court Fee Book, 1799–1800*, p. 3.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] Ekwall finds *junior* and *senior* in use in London before 1300 (*Variation*, p. 44).

[98] *Reports of Commissioners . . .*, pp. 34, 36.

A list of holders of tithable property produces the descriptive 'Richard Tibbs, red head.'[99] A second such list, showing an occupational sub-title, reveals beside 'Edmond West,' 'Edmund West, Constable.'[100] In a community with two others bearing the name James Hughes is 'J. Hughes, Blacksmith;'[101] and in the same record appear 'John Harris, Innkeeper'[102] and of three John Shidlers one designated 'John Shidler, Blacksmith.'[103]

From place of residence, no doubt, Horn Horn chose to be recorded as 'Horn Horn, Amwell,'[104] while of two Levi Harrods, one is 'Levi Harrod, Fort Harrod.'[105] Somewhat less laconic is 'John Downer living on Dunker creek.[106]

Three John Vanmeters are thus differentiated: 'John Vanmeter,' 'John Vanmeter Senior,' and 'Major John Vanmeter.'[107] A title, however, was of no value in keeping apart two William Crawfords, both of whom were colonels in the Revolutionary War. One was nicknamed 'Black Bill,'[108] the other 'Monongahela Bill.'[109]

How much farther byname use in trans-Allegheny Virginia would have extended had not the middle name come into vogue can only be surmised. Suffice to note the situation by 1842 among sea-coast villages of Scotland as Joseph Robertson describes it:[110]

"The fishers are generally in want of surnames. There are seldom more than two or three surnames in a fish-town. . . . The grocers in 'booking' their fisher customers, invariably insert the nick-name

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[99] The list representing the year 1786 was found among the papers of Col. William McCleary, an early county official, and is included in Samuel T. Wiley's *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia*, p. 82.

[100] The list represents the year 1785 and is found in Henry Haymond's *History of Harrison County West Virginia*, p. 275.

[101] From a listing of heads of families, Washington County, Pennsylvania, 1790, in Horn, *op. cit.*, II, 803.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 805.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 821.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 805.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 803.

[106] *Monongalia County Court Estray Register, 1796*, p. 6.

[107] From ms. records to which reference is made in Agnes Waller Reddy, *West Virginia Revolutionary Ancestors*, p. 79.

[108] Horn, *op. cit.*, I, 296.

[109] *Ibid.*, II, 648.

[110] "Notes on the Fishers of the Scotch East Coast," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, LI, (1842), 300–301.

or *tee*-name, and, in the case of married men, write down the wife's along with the husband's name. Unmarried debtors have the names of their parents inserted with their own. In the town-register of Peterhead these signatures occur: Elizabeth Taylor, spouse to John Thompson, *Souples*; Agnes Farquhar, spouse to Findlater, *Stouttie*. . . . Among the twenty-five George Cowies in Buckie there are George Cowie, *doodle*, George Cowie, *carrot*, and George Cowie, *neep*.

"A stranger had occasion to call on a fisherman. . . in one of the Buchan fishing-villages of the name of Alexander White . . . . Meeting a girl, he asked—

"'Could you tell me fa'r Sanny Fite lives?'

"'Filk Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle Sanny Fite.'

"'Filk muckle Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle lang Sanny Fite.'

"'Filk muckle lang Sanny Fite?'

"'Muckle lang gleyed Sanny Fite,' shouted the stranger.

"'Oh! It's "Goup-the-Lift" ye're seeking,' cried the girl, 'and fat the deevil for dinna ye speer for the man by his richt name at ance?"'

In contrast to this prominent role, the byname in western Virginia by the same date—the early 1840's—had made its exit from formal records. The middle name, whose use thirty years before was negligible, had become almost the sole agent for distinguishing those who bore the same Christian and family names.[111] Even *junior* and *senior* for a time were to become superfluous appendages.[112]

Although not unknown in the earliest period of settlement, the middle name before 1785 was so rare that among several thousand references to colonists on the Allegheny slopes I have found it employed only nine times. By 1795, it was recorded with one of every fifty names. The rate of increment in its use in the nineteenth cent-

[111] The exchange of byname for middle name is graphically illustrated in a notification appearing in the Massachusetts *Spy* for April 4, 1821: "Nathan Tufts, the third, son of Amos Tufts, blacksmith, changed his name to Nathan Adams Tufts, by Act of Feb. 24." (Richard H. Thornton, *An American Glossary* (Philadelphia, 1912), II, 894.)

[112] The son who received his father's given name usually bore *also* a middle name: e. g. *John Adams* and *John Quincy Adams*. Hence the lack of necessity for *junior*.

ury may be further traced in figures for names appearing in Monongalia County Deed Books for various years. I use the letter "D" as representative:

Deed Book	Years	Number of Surnames under "D"	Number of Middle Names	Percent of Middle Names
3	1803–1807	69	3	4 1/2
5	1810–1814	51	4	7 1/2
8	1819–1822	63	11	17
10	1823–1828	49	15	30
13	1833–1837	52	18	34
15	1838–1840	85	36	42
I(n.s.)	1864–1865	74	38	51

The most striking feature attached to the use of middle names in the eighteenth century, as well as later, is that a very high percentage were borrowed surnames. Significantly, seven of the nine coming to light before 1785 appear to be family names:

Peter *Smalwood* Roby
John *Dulling* Goff
Thomas James Goff
John *Pierce* Duvall
John *Hawkins* Low
William Augustus Smith
Thomas *Doyl* McCune
David *Wales* Sleeth
John *Wade* Lovberry

"This use of surnames [as first names or as middle names] originated in England during the Seventeenth Century," says H. L. Mencken, "and one of its fruits was the adoption of a number of distinguished names, e. g., *Cecil*, *Howard*, *Douglas*, *Percy*, *Duncan* and *Stanley*, as common given names. But the English began a return to *John*, *Charles* and *Williams* during the century following, and now the use of surnames is distinctively American. Of the fourteen Presidents of the United States who have had middle names at all, nine have had family names...."[113] The fact that

[113] H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, p. 516.

continental European immigrants frequently bore two Christian names[114] apparently did not influence the nomenclature of trans-Allegheny Virginia.

For what is perhaps the chief answer to the question of why in America the surname became and remained so prominently identified with the middle or second name one needs but look at the latter names themselves: *Adams*, *Asbury*, *Boone*, *Clay*, *Dow*, *Grant*, *Harrison*, *Jackson*, *Lee*, *Marion*, *Marshall*, *Morgan*, *Randolph*, *Sherman*, *Taney*, *Webster*, *Wesley*. The development of a new culture in this country—a culture in which the name of ancestor and of national and local hero was held in highest reverence—gave to middle names a significant function. In them were brought to memory the family patriarch, the circuit-rider and preacher, the frontier orator, the law-giver, statesman, and soldier.

Like the agnomen of the ancient Romans,[115] the middle name became an honorific title. With the Romans, it was often bestowed in honor of some achievement on the part of the individual who bore it. With our pioneer forefathers, it was given as a token of honor and esteem for someone outside the immediate family circle.

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DB-B Deed Book B, 1796. District and Superior Courts held for the District of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio, and Randolph Counties.

DB-C Deed Book C, 1798. District and Superior Courts held for the District of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio, and Randolph Counties.

FA Deed Book A, 1778. Fayette County Court. Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

[114] For examples of such names, see passenger lists given in Israel Daniel Rupp's *Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French, and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776.*

[115] The agnomen, itself actually a surname, was apparently first employed in later Latin in order to distinguish the surname of individuals, e. g. Africanus, Asiaticus, Cunctator, and the like, from that belonging to all the members of a family, e. g. Scipio, Cicero, Cato, and the like. (Charles T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *Harper's Latin Dictionary, A New Latin Dictionary Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon*, revised edition, New York, 1907).

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MB-2	Monongalia County Court. Deed Book Two, Old Series. 1797.
MCC	Monongalia County. Circuit Court Records, 1784–1859.
Monon. Estray Register	Monongalia County Estray Register. 1796–1876. A listing of stray farm animals taken up.
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ME	Monongalia County Superior Court of Law – Estates (Wills). 1789. . .
MMB	Monongalia County Court. Minute Book Number One, 1796.
MMR	Monongalia County Marriage Records. Early Marriage Licenses in Monongalia County. 1794–1802. *Transallegheny Historical Magazine* (October, 1902), II, 56–63.
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Place Name Patterns

GEORGE R. STEWART

Professor T. M. Pearce in his "Spanish Place Name Patterns in the Southwest" (*Names*, December, 1955) has done me the compliment of using as his basis of reference my article "A Classification of Place Names" (*Names*, March, 1954). As he puts it, "this classification, with one modification and one addition, has served well for my investigation."

Now, I do not think that my classification is to be considered perfect, for I know that the matter is one of considerable difficulty and delicacy. I am therefore happy to have it subjected to criticism. In this particular case, however, Professor Pearce's modification and addition do not seem to be necessary or helpful.

With respect to the modification he states, "I have modified the second category, identifying the place with the name of a person or group possessing it, to include identifying a place also with the names of animals or other wild life possessing it." He illustrates his position at another point in the article.

I readily grant that the distinction between descriptive and possessive names is a fine one. I believe, however, that it represents something in actual practise, and is worth preserving. Professor Pearce would include most animal names under the category possessive, believing that animals may be said to possess the place. This seems to me to be stretching the meaning of the word too far and also to be starting in a direction of no return. If animals can be considered as possessing a place, why not plants? Or some particular kind of earth or rock? Or an atmospheric condition? Thus we are likely to end up with "possessive" including everything that in my original description I put under "associative description."

In this case we might as well get rid of the whole conception of possessive names. In fact, I made that suggestion in my article; "These names resemble associative-descriptive names so closely that they could well be classified with them on purely theoretical

grounds. For practical purposes, however, they seem to be better distinguished." This is just a position that I still wish to maintain. To start moving the animal names from associative-descriptive to possessive seems to me to be going too far.

In connection with animal names I would also differ from Professor Pearce at another point. He states, "Professor Stewart writes that most animal names.... fall into the Category of Incident Names. He may be right, but documentation is usually lacking... Rather, it may be generally assumed that the animals are abundant in such localities." In this connection I would argue, first of all, that if documentation is lacking, we have no scholarly right to put any particular name into the one category rather than into the other. At best, we can only approach the problem of an undocumented name on a basis of probability. Here my experience with animal names seems to differ from that of Professor Pearce. I have very frequently found the statement of the type; "We named this place Buck Creek because we killed a buck there." I have much less commonly found the statement, of the type, "We named this place Deer Creek, because there were a great many deer in this vicinity." I therefore believe that the probability of a place being named for an animal because of an incident is at least high enough to make it unsafe to assume that, lacking documentation, the place is named for a certain animal because of its abundance there.

Professor Pearce also states: "The category I have added is (10) names which transfer terms of folk imagination, affection, and humor to localities and landmarks." Now, as I stated in my article, my classification is "with respect to the means or mechanisms by which places are named." I added that these means or mechanisms had a relationship to the motives of the original namers, but that I was not attempting to enter in to this deeper problem of psychology. I think, however, that by adding his new category, Professor Pearce is bringing in what may be called primarily a question of motive. By admitting humorous names he would make it necessary also to add such classifications as patriotic, religious, etc.

I must admit that, partly because of the limitations of the English language, some of my categories may be said to include both mechanism and motive. Thus a place may be named by means of a descriptive adjective and at the same time with the purpose of describing the place. The same may be said of commemorative and euphemistic names.

To return, however, to Professor Pearce's new category, he seems to go over completely to motive, neglecting mechanism. For instance, he gives as examples: "*Chico*, 'little', *Antonchico*, 'little Tony,' *Chaperito*, 'little hat,' *Tienditas*, 'little stores'." Granting that these may be humorous in motive, all of them apparently make use of one or other of the mechanism which I have already listed. Thus Chico would seem to be an ordinary descriptive adjective used for humorous ends.

Antonchico might be possessive, or might record an incident. On the evidence provided by this paragraph I therefore see no basis for establishing a tenth category. It would be ungraciuos of me, however, to conclude without thanks to Professor Pearce for this interesting collection and interpretation of southwestern names.

★ ★ ★

Bucksaw is a name translated from the German, *Bocksäge*. This word in turn is derived from *Sägebock*, the four-legged frame, in America generally known as sawhorse.

Literature on Personal Names in English, 1955

ELSDON C. SMITH

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ANS Notes

The December 1956 Meeting. The next annual meeting of the *ANS* will be held between December 27th and 29th in Washington D. C. The chairman of the local committee is Dr. Meredith F. Burrill, Board on Geographic Names, U. S. Department of the Interior, Washington 25, D. C. The chairman of the program committee is Professor Margaret M. Bryant, 1 Montague Terrace, Brooklyn 2, N. Y. Since it is desirable that the entire program be published in the next issue the chairman of the program committee would appreciate receiving the titles of papers to be read, together with a short synopsis, by August 15, 1956.

New Members and Subscribers

Mrs. F. O. Atha, 9 High Street, Mannington, W. Va.
Mrs. A. Kyle Bush, 5 Bush Ave., Philippi, W. Va.
S. J. Eckerson, General Drafting Co., Convent Station, N. J.
Elisabeth K. Gudde, Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley 4, Calif.
Missouri State Library, State Office Bldg., Jefferson City, Mo.
Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.
Rev. Benedict Pfaller, OSB, Sacred Heart Convent, 225–14th Ave., S. E., Minot, North Dakota.
Simjian & Company, P. O. Box 1582, Tehran, Iran.
Michael S. Vartanoff, 6825 Wilson Lane, Bethesda 14, Maryland.

Editor's Page

Professor I. J. Gelb's article is an important contribution to a phase of onomatology that has been repeatedly discussed in *Names*: the study of names in the mythology of ancient and primitive peoples (animism magic, charms, etc.). It opens a wide and little cultivated field, and we hope that Mr. Gelb's article will stimulate research in other regions, including the Americas. Mr. Gelb is the well-known orientalist at the University of Chicago and the editor of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. The paper was read at the meeting of the *ANS* in Chicago, December 26, 1955.

Two articles, "*Knickerbocker*" and "*House Nicknames*" deal with one of the most interesting groups of non-Indian American names – the early Dutch. J. J. Lamberts is a member of the faculty of Northwestern University; C. A. Weslager has written extensively about geographical names on the Atlantic Coast (see *Names*, December, 1954).

Harold Allen's article on nicknames in Egypt is one of the fruits of his year in Egypt as a Fulbright lecturer. He was a linguistic consultant for the Ministry of Education and a lecturer at 'Ain Shams University and the University of Cairo. He is associate professor of English at the University of Minnesota and director of the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest.

Correction. I wish to correct an error in my "Personal Message" on the Editor's Page of the March 1956 issue. Instead of "head of my department" it should read "former head of my department."

E. G. G.

AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY

Founded Detroit, Michigan, December 29th, 1951

Incorporated under the Laws of the State of Illinois, 1952

The purposes of the American Name Society are:

The study of the etymology, origin, meaning, and application of all categories of names – geographical, personal, scientific, commercial, popular – and the dissemination of the result of such study;

to make the American people conscious of the interest and importance of names in all fields of human endeavor and in all subjects taught in our schools and colleges;

to act as a clearing house for American nomenclature and as an advisory agency for government offices, organizations, and individuals concerned with the application, changing, spelling, and pronunciation of names. The media to attain these purposes will be:

The publication of a quarterly devoted to the study of names; the publication of books and monographs in the fields of onomastics, and the support and encouragement of such publications;

the eventual publication of standard reference dictionaries in the various categories of names;

contributions to the daily press and popular lectures on the subject by members of the Society;

annual national and, if there is sufficient interest, regional meetings of the Society.

The annual dues for active and library members are $ 5.00; for sustaining members $ 25.00. An individual or an organization may become a patron of the Society by a single payment of $ 1,000.00. Membership includes the privilege of purchasing at cost books and pamphlets published by the Society.

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George R. Stewart, First Vice-President
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Toponymic Generics I

Meredith F. Burrill

Since the Layman's terminology for physical features is the basic one – *river*, *lake*, *mountain*, *bay*, *swamp*, *island*, etc., with which all professionals were familiar long before they became professionals and upon which the professional's terminology is essentially superimposed, a fuller understanding of the layman's terms should facilitate communication between at least professional and layman, and perhaps also between professionals. This study of toponymic generics, terms for physical features used in geographic names, was undertaken as a step toward that fuller understanding.

There are several reasons for directing the study at toponymic generics. These are the terms that are identified with specific individual features by layman and professional alike. Jones Prairie may look like a marsh to you, but if enough people call it prairie, that is what a prairie is to them (or that area), and that is what you will call it if you want to communicate to them an idea about it. Undoubtedly, one of the most important factors in the spread of topographic terms has been the naming of individual features. Actual or fancied resemblance of a strange natural feature and a familiar object is enough to start the process. An apt term, applied to more features of comparable appearance and with different specifics, becomes a toponymic generic. Once established it tends to persist even though its connotation may come to be almost the opposite of the original application, and even though the original resembling object passes out of use and generations arise who never saw one or heard of one.

In addition to the philosophical considerations, a practical consideration is the relative ease of collecting large numbers of toponymic generics and identifying their location for study. They are shown on maps from which one can infer many of the characteristics

of the features. Word geography dealing with common nouns spoken in context, of which the Linguistic Atlas is a wonderful example, is in some ways superior, but such word-gathering entails many years of field work and considerable expense. Even then the informant's concepts of features not seen in his locality or his travels could only come from literature, pictures and maps, and the pictures and maps at least are likely to associate the feature and its toponym.

The tangible end product of this study will be a dictionary of toponymic generics in the United States, presenting a proposed standard connotation for each term and citing each variant connotation with the region of its occurrence. As a by-product along the way there will be an atlas of maps showing the distribution of occurrence of each term, so far as found, in the United States. It is hoped that this may be published soon to make available the distributional information now in hand as source material to facilitate and stimulate research contributions by others.

Waldo L. Schmitt, in his address at the Zoologists dinner at the St. Louis meeting of the AAAS in 1952, in calling attention to the growing importance of taxonomy, pointed out that it is largely devoted to knowing the scientific names of organisms.[1] He quoted from George Gaylord Simpson[2] a passage that is pertinent here: "It is impossible to speak of the objects of any study, or to think lucidly about them, unless they are named. It is impossible to examine their relationship to each other and their places among the vast, incredibly complex phenomena of the universe, in short to treat them scientifically, without putting them into some sort of formal arrangement...Taxonomy is at the same time the most elementary and the most inclusive part of zoology, most elementary because animals cannot be discussed or treated in a scientific way until some taxonomy has been achieved, and the most inclusive because taxonomy in its various guises and branches eventually gathers together, utilizes, summarizes, and implements everything that is known about animals..."

The lack of established meaningful categories has been a handicap

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[1] "Applied Systematics: The Usefulness of Scientific Names of Animals and Plants." By Waldo L. Schmitt. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.* Washington D. C., 1954.

[2] "The Principles of Classification and a Classification of Mammals". *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History.* Vol. 85 (1945), pp. 1ff.

in this study. Lacking them and names for them, features to which terms were applied often had to be described at some length, and the descriptions may or may not have identified the most significant characteristics. Search in the literature and inquiry among friends expert in such matters for suitable categories of such things as flowing waterbodies and wetlands brought to light none that is fully satisfactory for this purpose. The wetland classification by Martin and others[3] done for the Fish and Wildlife Service while this study was in process approaches the problem but from a quite different angle, and includes categories such as "Open Fresh Water" that cover a variety of features. The statement "Open water may completely occupy lake and pond basins, potholes, limestone sinks, sloughs, or stream beds, or it may be fringed with marsh" is illustrative. "Pothole" and "slough" are not defined and could apply to quite different things. Digression to make my own categories would have postponed this study too long, but some categorization will have to be done before completing the dictionary and maps of regional connotations.

The Method

The procedures followed in this study were modified several times in the early stages. A recital of methods is pertinent to an evaluation of the author's statements and maps. The generic terms occurring on each available United States standard topographic map, including composite proofs as they were circulated, were recorded on a 3×5 card headed by the quadrangle name, publishing agency, scale, publication date or dates, and southeast corner coordinates of latitude and longitude. All of the recording of terms from an estimated 15,000 sheets was done personally by the author. A check has been available in that for at least a third of the maps different editions or scales of maps of the same area have been carded at different times, or the carding of one has been checked against another, or the carding of a proof checked against the final color edition. In addition, occurrence of two terms on all the

[3] "Classification of Wetlands of the United States". By the Wetlands Classification Committee of the Fish and Wildlife Service, Alexander C. Martin, chairman, Neil Hotchkiss, Francis M. Uhler, and Warren S. Bourn. Special Scientific Report, *Wildlife* No. 20. U. S. Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., June 1953. 14 pp. mimeographed.

topographic maps and of another term on perhaps a third of the maps was recorded independently by a research assistant. Since the frequency of omission was found to be low and of mistakes in recording even lower, error at this stage is believed to be not significant to the conclusions.

The terms were arranged on the card by class of feature, each of which was assigned a line in approximately the same position on the card. The classes used were: running water and watercourses, standing water, elevations, breaches in elevations, linear lowlands or depressions, non-linear lowlands including low flatlands, volcanic features other than elevations, solution features, glaciers, non-linear depressions or reentrants on land n.e.c., coastal and lake shore waterbodies, coastal and lake shore land features, grasslands, wetlands, woodlands, islands, springs and geysers, river obstructions or bends, portages or related features, and artificial or severely modified watercourses. Few maps had named features in more than ten categories so there was space enough for listing without subsequent rearrangement. In those cases when even with liberal use of abbreviations the 3×5 card did not give enough length for one or two of the lines, there was always space for continuing immediately below the right hand hand half of the line without confusion.

The classes used in the listing were modified in some details from the original scheme shortly after starting. Perhaps still other changes would have helped. Running water and watercourses could have been separated in some arbitrary manner, but in view of previous knowledge that water terms and valley terms often refer both to the water and to the linear depression in which it flows, and that a water term such as *creek* and a valley term such as *coulee* are often used for practically identical features side by side, separation seemed likely to be more bother than it would be worth, particularly since the distinction indicated by italic type for streams vs roman type for valleys on the maps is not always consistent for a given term and some topographic maps do not use italics for water names. Later, when valley terms showed up applied to running waterbodies with practically no valley above the water surface, and stream terms applied to watercourses bone dry most of the time, it seemed that it would have been a good idea after all, but then the listing was too far along.

The boundary between toponymic generics and the designator

term in names like Devils Kitchen or Great White Throne is not a clear cut one. *Roost*, as applied to elevations or their highest points, was not recorded when the first few scattered ones were encountered and by the time its considerable frequency and spread were realized there remained doubt that this term rated being classed with the generics. *Cathedral* was not recorded but *castle* and *tower* were, the difference being that *castle* and *tower* occurred in ways that seemed to qualify whereas *cathedral* did not. The first instances of *low gap* and *high top* were missed on first carding because recurrence and apparent function in distinguishing from gaps and tops were not anticipated. Decisions on these questions were arrived at subjectively, influenced by personal bias. The number of terms and occurrences omitted is small, however, if recollection serves correctly.

It was not always possible to tell whether something like "Sand Hills" on the map was intended as a toponym or as "map information". It was assumed that that particular notation was map information and dunes were not recorded unless with a specific. Cedar Swamp, on the other hand was assumed to be a toponym, even when there was more than one on the same sheet, since it occurs with non-descriptive specifics such as Jones Cedar Swamp.

Terms such as *spring* were generally not recorded when the map showed only a symbol and the word, since it was not always clear that that term would have been used in the toponym for that feature. Combinations of *spring* with a qualifier, – boiling spring, sulphur spring, mineral spring, etc., were recorded only for hot spring. Terms such as *sugarloaf* and *hogback*, with or without the definite article, were recorded.

Plural and singular forms were distinguished for *mountain(s)* *hill(s)*, and a few others, but not for such terms as *flat*, *meadow*, *spring*, *wood*, and others commonly used indiscriminately in either the singular or plural.

False generics, such as *knoll* in Oak Knoll Brook or both *knoll* and *brook* in Oak Knoll Brook Deadwater, and even questionable false generics such as *mott* in Mott Creek which probably was named for a person, were listed in parentheses. The names from which they came were written on the back of the card with a designation of the entity to which the name applied, such as populated place or school. Unusual applications of terms were also noted on the back.

The completed cards, one for each map examined, were filed by states in order of latitude and longitude, convenient for mapping and revealing names. The occurrence of each term was then plotted on a 1 : 5,000,000 scale Geological Survey brown line index base map by an X covering the area of the sheet from which the term was recorded, showing at a glance the scale of the map from which the evidence was taken. Most of the plotting in the eastern two thirds of the country was done by research assistants, with a generous sample checked. A few errors were made but practically all were caught immediately by the original plotter and corrected.

Since the accuracy of the term-distribution maps will not exceed the accuracy of the primary data, it is pertinent to examine the limitations, for purpose of this study, inherent in the topographic maps. The limitations are several and regrettable but by no means fatal. The areal coverage is incomplete and for some mapped areas only reconnaissance maps are available. The name coverage appears to be incomplete on a large percent of the maps at all scales. Errors in names are known to have been introduced at each step in the process leading to the published map. Ambiguous or misleading placement of names on maps may lead to erroneous conclusions as to connotation of the generics. Inadequate symbolization precludes interpretive distinction of differentiations in connotation that are actually made by the local people.

Absence of any topographic map is obviously the most serious limitation, for no other standard map series pretends to show and name the wide range of physical features being covered, although some show selected categories in some detail. The chief gaps in coverage are three great crescents, one from southern Virginia to southwestern Mississippi with an extension in the northern and southern parts of the Florida peninsula, the high plains from west Texas to eastern Montana, and one from western N. Mexico to eastern Oregon. Smaller and interrupted gaps occur in Tennessee, northern Indiana, the northern half of Michigan's lower peninsula, east central Wisconsin, most of Iowa and Minnesota, southwestern Wyoming, south Texas and east Texas. A number of the gaps are rapidly being filled by large scale maps, but others are not scheduled for mapping. Each new map helps to round out the distribution picture. Some introduce new terms or connotations, and since this will continue more or less indefinitely the study here reported on might be described as "open-ended".

For considerable areas west of the Mississippi River, the only topographic maps are half degree and one degree quadrangles. All of the 60 minute quads used, with one exception in eastern Montana, are west of longitude 109 and east of the Sierra Nevada and the Cascade Mountains. Some of these maps are forty years old or more and show little detail. For the most part they carry few names, but some have a surprising variety of terms. A few carry terms not used as generics on later larger scale maps covering part of the same area. A few in mountain country carry a large number of names and a variety of generics. The distribution patterns will be further refined as new maps on larger scales show more detail and more names. For some terms this will probably be important, for others it may make little difference.

It is difficult to determine how many names in current local use are omitted from the maps, but there is evidence that even 7.5′ quadrangles omit some physical feature names that are in local use. Although this enlarges the apparent nonoccurrence areas, especially in the case of terms for the smaller features, the patterns are probably not changed much in major outline unless whole categories are left unnamed on all the maps in a sizeable area, or unless there are thus omitted the scattered but sometimes significant occurrences of otherwise regionally concentrated terms.

In addition to omissions due to scale or the avoidance of clutter there are probably some generics made into false generics by the addition of another generic. The feature long known locally and in the literature as Allens Fresh appears as Allens Fresh Run on the Popes Creek, Md., 7.5′ Corps of Engineers topographic map (published by the Geological Survey in civil edition). Just how this came about the author has not investigated, but there are several possibilities. An influx of new residents could bring about general unfamiliarity with the highly local topographic connotation of *fresh*, with the result that they themselves add a generic that is appropriate either in terms of their own experience or in the local habit. Such persons may have been the informants of the name collector. The name collector himself may have been unfamiliar with the term as a generic and interpreted the answer to a query such as "What is the name of that run ?" to mean that Allens Fresh was only the specific part of the name. At a later stage a map editor may have assumed that the names report was faulty, that certainly the generic had been left off unintentionally, and put one

on. Conceivably there may even have been name gatherers or editors whose bias in favor of the nomenclature pattern to which they were accustomed was so strong that the change was made despite abundant evidence.

Spelling is for some people a highly personal matter, not something to be conventionalized just because pedagogues say it should. Too, a name is usually spelled at will. Ella may think that plain ordinary spelling is a slur on her personality, and that *Ela* would be more exotic looking. It is. If mother likes the looks of *Jerold* better than *Gerald* how do you think it will read on the birth certificate? If something originally christened Jones Sluice is pronounced Jones Sloosh or Jones Slooch, there will be those who spell it as it sounds. *Sluice* wasn't always spelled that way, for that matter. At any rate there are variant spellings of a fair number of the generics on the list. In at least one case variant spellings of the same word have served to differentiate connotations. *Slue*, to some persons, refers to an underwater channel in a sand bar along the coast rather than to one of the entities ordinarily called *slough*. At first glance there is some virtue in this, but it is no help in oral communication, no more help than different pronunciations of the same spelling would be to one reading the names.

An instance of possibly ambiguous application is Cape Poge Gut on the Edgartown, Mass., 7.5′ quadrangle. The name is placed on the water in such position that a person familiar with the application of *gut* to narrow coastal waterbodies might infer that it applied to the passage between the end of Cape Poge Elbow and North Neck. The type classification, however, is for a land feature and presumably the name applies to a narrow part of North Neck. This is supported by another occurrence of the term *gut* for the neck of a peninsula in this same general area.

Digressing a moment, *elbow*, here used for a spit, is applied to such a miscellany of features – almost anything having a bend or angle – and so rarely recurs in the same connotation or in the same region that it can hardly be said to perform the function of a true generic. Certainly it makes little contribution to standard connotations.

A problem of interpretation is posed by two pocosons on the Hackney, N. C., quadrangle, one shown with the wetland symbol, the other without. Either these two are essentially alike or the distinction of a particular category of wetflat land presumably made

by the persons who named them was not precisely the distinction that one would expect.

One result of the present study should be fewer ambiguously placed names on maps. This is not to say that they are frequent now, but rather that they should not happen at all and that understanding of regional connotations will help eliminate them. As a case in point, *hammock* was encountered in a name spread along the middle of a mud flat, an application distinctly aberrant. On checking the coast chart it was found that the name was meant for the island on one side of the flat. The name had been placed beside the island instead of on it and a map compiler had apparently thought it a name for the flat and centered it. This can be readily corrected in subsequent editions, but in the meantime *hammock* may have sprouted a new connotation in the mind of someone who sees that application.

In general the kinds of placement involving some ambiguity, in addition to the placement of land names on water areas and water names on land in order to leave the other area for map information, involve the extent or continuity of the named feature. Does Jones Peak apply to the sharp apex or to the whole mass of the relief feature? It may well be that the local people use the name for both or for either at different times and have never bothered to discriminate. The name has to be put somewhere, though, and in the absence of full understanding of regional connotations the map makers solution will be either a shop rule or a series of more or less unrelated subjective judgments. Either can lead to misconceptions on the part of readers of the maps.

In fairness to both the study and the makers of the topographic maps it should be stressed at this point that the virtues of the maps far outweigh their shortcomings. One cannot fail to be more impressed with the accomplishments reflected by the maps than with their faults. This study would not have been feasible without them.

(To be concluded)

Family Names in the Augustinian Order

Jack Autrey Dabbs

While I was examining some manuscripts from Mexican sources, there came to my hands for study a series of documents dealing with the Congress or Capitulo General of Bethlemites, a meeting scheduled for Mexico City in 1799, and one at which all Bethlemites were to be represented, either in attendance or by proxy. The documents included lists, making it possible to reconstruct a complete roster of the Bethlemites in the New World, or at least in Spanish America, at that time.[1]

A glance at the names immediately showed a high incidence of saints' names or names connected with the basic aspects of the Christian Religion, such as the Nativity, the Conception, and the Cross. Although conventional family names were conspicuous by their absence, there were two, namely Antonio de Atocha and José de Monserrate.

A few further inquiries led to some generalizations that attempt to explain this change in names.

For a biblical precept we may resort to the case of the rich, young ruler who asked for advice and was told by Jesus to divest himself of his worldly goods. Then He gave His disciples the admonition as follows:

> There is no man that hath left house or parents or brethren or wife or children for the Kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in the present time and in the world to come life everlasting. Luke 18:29–30.

In this precept we can easily see an authority if we seek one, for renouncing family ties upon entering the religious life. What better way of renouncing family ties than by changing the paternal name?

The Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 675, article on Names:

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[1] C. E. Castañeda and J. A. Dabbs. *Independent Mexico in Documents*. Editorial Jus, Mexico, 1954.

In the eighth century the two Englishmen Winfirth and Willibald going on different occasions to Rome, received from the reigning Pontiff, along with a new commission to preach, the names respectively of Boniface and Clement.

So again Emma of Normandy when she married King Ethelred in 1002 took the name Aelfgifu; while of course the reception of a new name upon entering a religious order is almost universal even in our own day.

Encyclopedia Cattolica, VIII, 1918:

The abandonment of the ordinary name and the assumption of a new one with a sacred character appears especially in the change of status to express the new condition of life and the spiritual and social orientation of the individual.

The article goes on to refer to the Pharaohs who, on accession to the throne, changed their names to that of the gods they considered their protectors. It also refers to a primitive principle, represented by the term *Nomina sunt omina*, a subject that deserves more elaborate treatment as the science of onomatology develops. Then the article goes on to say:

And also in present times those who join a religious order change their names to signify the new orientation of their life.

To test these statements and see how they apply in practice, we need the names taken by members of the various orders, along in each case with the names of the parents and place of birth. While it is possible to gather a large number of names of religious from documentary sources, usually there is insufficient information for a comparative study.

The one type of work which would be of greatest help is the *Libro de Profesiones.* This book is the register kept in each convent or monastery and which each new member of an order signs at the conclusion of the ceremonies admitting him into the order. There is only one copy, the original; and so far as I know, none have been printed. The only *Libro de Profesiones* that I have found is that of the Augustinian Convent in Mexico City, dating from its foundation in 1536. This book has fortunately survived and is available in the University of Texas Library. In this book each new member wrote his simple statement in which he said in effect "I Brother . . ., legitimate son of .... and his legal wife ...., citizens of ...., make my profession to live by the rules of St. Augustine, etc.," and there follow the necessary statements of religious conviction and the religious vows, then the place and date, with signature, witnessed

by two or three other members of the order. In this work the writing varies enormously, some very elaborate, with decorated margin in colored ink, some a very simple statement with no garnishment. All are signed except a few rare cases where the neophyte was unable to write. Some are in Latin, but the great majority are in Spanish. Most important for us, they furnish the material for a comparative study of the names used.

The 843 names in the book, dating from 1536 to 1650, have been examined and statistical lists prepared. The results are very different from the list of Bethlehemites, very different from what the general authorities would lead us to anti- cipate.

Of the 843 names, we have the following ratios:

Took Holy Names,	112	(or 13.7%)
Kept Family Names,	469	(or 55.6%)
Took Mother's Name,	114	(or 14%)
Took Name of a Place,	30	(or 4%)
Miscellaneous,	94	(or 11.5%)
Not included (illegible or foundlings)	24	
	843	

Far from conforming to what we have found in standard authorities, the friar who entered the Augustinian Order in the sixteenth century, at least in the Spanish realm, had four choices: He could keep his family name as a layman would; he could use the paternal name of his mother, giving up that of his father; he could use the name of a place with which he felt closely associated, or he could adopt a religious name.

There is no reason to think that those who kept their paternal names were less pious than others; on the contrary the list has several examples that have become famous in Mexico for piety and selfless devotion to the Church. Since the majority, 55.6% of the new friars, did this, there could have been no prejudice or stigma attached by the other members – a social stigma would certainly have led to close conformity. In fact, it was almost the normal thing to do.[2]

For those who adopted the mother's name, dropping that of the father, it is easy to speculate, but there is no surviving indication

[2] For example, José, son of Luis de Olivares and Magdalena Salgado, citizens of Mexico, took the name José de Olivares. This is the same name that he would probably have used if he had not entered the Order.

for any ideas or patterns. However, it should be mentioned that the use of the maternal patronymic in preference to that of the father has not been unusual by any means in recent centuries,[3] and these 114 cases should be considered together with the preceding group.[4]

For those who took the name of a place, forsaking that of the parents, it is easy to read into their decision the idea of abandoning the things of this world for the religious life; but for this purpose the use of a place-name seems to be only a half-measure. Besides, a number of other Spaniards who came to the New World adopted their birthplace as part of their name, and it often came to be a family name. This practice was therefore open to the layman and the religious alike. Apparently, however, the layman who took a place-name for his own in the sixteenth century did so because he had no family name as such and because permission to sail to the New World was restricted to persons from particular areas. The lack of a family name could not usually apply to the case of the Augustinian friars because only legitimate children were ordinarily eligible for the order. The use of the place-name, therefore, must be attributed to a renunciation of the family name.[5] Of the 30 who used a place-name, all but two chose what seems to have been their birthplace.[6]

About 13.7% of the friars took the name of some religious concept, principally saints' names. A few figures may help show the distribution:

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[3] For example, the 16th century founder of Spanish Asunción (Paraguay) had the name Martinez de Irala, but he referred to himself, and others referred to him as Irala, not his father's name. The idea seems to be that the less common name was used — Irala being a much less frequent term than Martinez.

[4] Examples of this type: Juan, son of Juan Gómez and Magdalena Gutiérrez, citizens of Mexico, took the name Juan Gutiérrez, June 12, 1640. Another: Nicolás, son of Gabriel Sáez de Babrena and of Ana Maria de León y Santiago, 12 June 1640 took the name Nicolás de Santiago, thus pursuing the maternal line because as a layman he normally would have been Nicolás Sáez or Nicolás Sáez de León.

[5] For example, Marcos, son of Gonzalo Sánchez and Catalina de Escobar, citizens of Badajoz, on Feb. 4, 1644 took the name of Marcos de Badajoz. As a layman he would probably have called himself Marcos Sánchez or Marcos Sánchez de Escobar.

[6] Examples: Miguel, son of Juan de Villa Pérez and Juana Gómez, citizens of Peñafiel, took the name Miguel de Peñafiel. The two extra names, Melchor de Monterrey and Bartolomé de Lisboa, may have been born in those two cities, but their parents are shown as citizens of Mexico and Orique.

San Nicolás	13	Santa Lucía	1
San Agustín	7	San Pedro	1
San Guillermo	7	San Cibrián	1
San Pablo	5	San Gabriel	1
Santa María	5	San Gregorio	1
San Miguel	4	San Martín	1
Santiago	3	Santo Domingo	1
San Juan	3	San Gerónimo	1
San José	3	San Alberto	1
San Diego	2	San Andrés	1
Santa Catalina	2	Santa Clara	1
		TOTAL	65

Other religious concepts used to replace the family name were as follows:

Concepción	11	Cruz	3
Reyes	6	Anunciación	2
Magdalena	5	Visitación	2
Paz	5	Ángeles	2
Asunción	4	Jesús María	1
Jesús	3	Asención	1
Veracruz	3	Evangelista	1
Bautista	3		

Since these are the names we are led by authoritative statements to anticipate in a majority of cases, they have been given a more detailed study. In exploring for patterns, several possibilities were studied:

1. Perhaps the friar took the name of the saint on whose day he was born. Checking this possibility would require records showing dates of birth, something very rare. This possibility is also rendered unlikely because in later medieval times parents tended to call children by the name of the saint on whose day they were born. This might account for the first name or given name, but less likely for the religious name assumed. Such duplications as Luis de San Luis or Pablo de San Pablo do not occur. This premise is also rendered unlikely by the small number of saints' names used, 23 in all.

2. The possibility also exists that the friar tended to take the name of the saint on whose day he professed. The names have been checked against *The Book of Saints*[7] and of the 65 who renounced

[7] *The Book of Saints, a dictionary of Servants of God Canonized by the Catholic Church ... compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate.* New York, MacMillan, 1947. 4th Ed.

the family name in favor of a saint's name, 10 or 15% used the name of the saint on whose day the profession was signed.[8] This number is too small to indicate a trend, tradition, or custom. It may very well represent pure coincidence.

3.Turning to the other holy names, we find just enough conformity to prove the variety. Three friars took the name Juan Baptista, one of them on June 26, 1543, which is in the octave of John the Baptist, but the other two friars, who took the same name, did so on October 31, 1566 and September 5, 1631.

Juan de la Anunciación professed on March 25, 1556, the feast of the Annunciation, but Baltasar de la Anunciación five years earlier, professed on October 15. Hernando de la Concepción professed on December 13, 1553, which is in the octave of the Immaculate Conception. But ten other friars also took the name of Concepción on days such as January 11, February 9, April 9, April 15, May 26, June 27, August 24, and September 7, December 8, and one (1556) illegible.

4. Another suggestion, and one which cannot be proved yet, is that the name was suggested by the Prior, by friends, or relatives, or came to the friar through some personal experience previous to his profession.

The one remaining group or miscellaneous section, has 94 names. Each probably has its own story and interesting ones, at that, but few will ever be recovered. The most general division that can be made is that of the friar who took a family name different from that of his parents. For example, Luis, whose paternal line was Saavedra and whose maternal line was Cadena, and who was evidently born in Mexico City, took the name Guzmán. In many of the others the friar took a name that could very well be either a family name or a place-name. In such cases, rather than guess, the names have been left in this class.[9]

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[8] The ten: Juan de San Guillermo (St. William of Maleval, Feb. 11), Diego de San Guillermo (St. William of Cufitella, April 7), Pablo de San Guillermo (St. William Gnoffi, April 16, Diego de San José (Joseph of Persia, April 22), Luis de San Agosto (St. Augustine of Nicomedia, May 7), Isidio de San José (St. Joseph the Hymnographer, June 10), Sebastián de Santa María (Mary, mother of John, June 29), Luis de San Agustín, (St. Augustine, November 5), Pedro de Santa Catalina (St. Catherine of Alexandria. November 25), and Juan de San Agustín (St. Augustine M., December 18).

[9] For example, Cristóbal, son of Cristóbal Sánchez and Isabel Hernández, both citizens of Santa Lalla, took the name Cristóbal de la Fuente.

To explain these names we need much information we probably will never gather, but now and then we can find parallel cases to help out. For example, by turning to the Franciscan Order, we can find an enlightening case in that of the first bishop of Mexico. Toribio seems to have begun life in Benavente, Zamora Province, Spain, about the turn of the sixteenth century as Toribio Paredes, presumably the paternal name. When he entered the Franciscan Order, he changed his name to Toribio de Benavente, for which his biographer, Father Borgia Steck comments:

As was then and later customary among certain groups of religious, he probably dropped his surname when he joined the Franciscan Order, substituting the name of his birthplace.[10]

However, there was a close friendship between Fray Toribio and Don Antonio Pimentel, the sixth Count of Benavente, and I believe we should leave it an open question whether he adopted the place-name of his birth, or the family name of his benefactor, the Count. Adopting the family name of a benefactor would explain most of the cases so far classed as miscellaneous.

Returning to the story of the Franciscan missionary, we find in Mendieta's History, an account of an experience in Tlaxcala:

Mendieta tells us that during one of the interviews which the friars held with the friendly Tlaxcala Indians, one of these was so impressed by the lowly appearance and demeanor of the barefoot and poorly-clad strangers that he kept on muttering to himself 'Motolinía! Motolinía!' Hearing this word repeated so often and in such a tone of sympathy, one of the friars became curious and, turning to one of the Spanish soldiers, he asked what the word meant. 'It means *poor one*, Father, or *poor ones*,' the soldier explained. 'Very well,' the friar replied, 'this is the first word I know in this language and, that I may not forget it, it will from now on be my name.' Mendieta adds that 'from then on he abandoned the name of Benavente and called himself Motolinía.' Henceforth he was to be neither the Toribio Paredes nor the Toribio de Benavente of former days. Toribio he would remain, indeed; but it would be Toribio and *Poor One*, Toribio de Motolinía, entirely devoted as a follower of the Poor Man of Assisi to the conversion of the Aztecs.[11]

Even in the sixteenth century it is doubtful that a friar was able to change his name often with such ease, and no doubt most of

[10] Borgia Steck, *Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain*, (Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, 1951), p. 1.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

them continued permanently with the name used at their profession. And while there may have been some variation between orders and between generations, we will have to look not at a set program or regular trends, but a wide variety of free choice. The actual choice must have lain with the individual, and must have reflected local custom, local popularity, literary figures, folklore, and fashion. The regularity of the use of religious names hypothecated by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* apparently was either based on the impression caused by an observation of the changes that did take place, rather than on a percentage or statistical study, or else members of the Augustinian Order did not follow the general practice.

★ ★ ★

Land of our Fathers. – Under this title an interesting and decorative map has been prepared by Lottie and Moshe Davis, illustrated by Charles Harper. The map is based upon the occurrence of Biblical (Old Testament) names, fifty-seven in all, each being appropriately illustrated. Accompanying the map is a brochure, serving as a guide to the map and offering additional information. (Published by Associated American Artists, Inc, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.)

Gutter: Its Rise and Fall

Audrey R. Duckert

The Town of Longmeadow, Massachusetts lies on the east bank of the Connecticut River; it is bounded on the north by Springfield and on the south by the Connecticut state line. Its name appears for the first time on a deed drawn up at the close of King Phillip's war, by which the resident Indians "sold" a good deal of land "To Mr. William Pynchon and others." This "longe meddowe" first settled by white men around 1644, is now a suburban residential town -- a very proper New England community with a white meetinghouse and a group of fine colonial houses facing out on a long green common shaded by elms and sycamores.

Like all proper New England towns, Longmeadow has its annual town meeting. The one which took place on a cold night in February of 1954 had a special significance for the student of place names; and I attended, though I had to sit among the disenfranchised in the balcony because I had lived there less than the required year. The moderator read from the town warrant, called for motions, kept the discussion in order, and conducted the voting. It was some time before he reached Article 34: "To see if the town will change the name of *Grassy Gutter Road* to *Remy Road* or *Wilkin Road* or take any other action relative thereto."

A little more than a hundred years after the name *Grassy Gutter* made its first formal appearance, it had become an undesirable; or, let us say more gently that it seemed to fall somewhat short of prevailing aesthetic standards. Consider it in the context of a town with the gracious name of Longmeadow, many of its streets so properly named for early settlers like Bliss, Cooley, and Williams; and others with names suggestive of tradition, nature, peace, and good real estate promotion such as Wheelmeadow Drive, Druid Circle, Laurel Street, and Forest Glen Road. There were present at the town meeting that night those to whom it was patently clear that a name as homely as Grassy Gutter Road could no longer

be tolerated in the midst of this calculated pastorale. To some of them, its very existence was a surprise, for the fairly short, undeveloped road had little public notice until a site fronting on it was chosen for a new high school.

One enthusiastic supporter of the change thought Grassy Gutter was a *nasty* name and said just that, urging further that since everyone was aware of the connotations of *Gutter*, it seemed sufficiently disgraceful that the word had been legally attached to the town and its people for all these years. Now, surely, made aware of its monstrous, offending presence, they must rise in indignation and bring about its fall. Arguments were presented with considerable ardor; the two new names were separately proposed and discussed, and the voting was at hand.

But even as the moderator cleared his throat to put the motion before the voters, a dignified gentleman rose and asked permission to speak. (He was, I later discovered, a lawyer to whom case-pleading was no new experience.) It was an eloquent and impassioned plea – not only for the retention of the name of *Grassy Gutter Road*, but for a halt in the general trend which was seeking to modernize and sophisticate the colorful and picturesque names the New England landscape had worn since "our Pilgrim forefathers" bestowed them. He was brief, but he was earnest and forceful. A mingled murmur of amusement and interest passed through the crowd, and what had seemed at first to be only one more street-name changing petitioned by residents seeking a shorter or more attractive name had become an issue; and it involved some very positive and thoughtful attitudes. When the vote came, Grassy Gutter Road and its champion were victorious. The townspeople went on to approve appropriations for mundane items such as Japanese beetle control, a swimming pool, and new pavements, and the sons of tradition and admirers of picturesque place names relaxed and considered the world with renewed pleasure; a fallen gutter had been saved.

Even among those who knew of its existence, there were probably few at the town meeting who were aware that the name of the road was taken from a bordering stream called *Grassy Gutter*; they may not have suspected that here was a name as old and tradition-rich as Longmeadow itself, or that this very term *gutter* had been soberly and respectably attached to place names in their own Connecticut Valley for well nigh 300 years. It was used, typically, to describe

a small stream flowing between high, eroded banks of its own making, and amounting to a mere trickle in dry seasons but a torrent in the time of melting snows.

Let us now consider this New England gutter in terms of its provenience and habitat, and try to find the factors involved in its fall from grace. It is most remarkable that a word used and accepted by the earliest settlers – folk traditionally noted for a sombre and literal turn of mind – should be shunned and disgraced ten generations later, perhaps even by some ancestor-conscious descendants of the very people who once used it.

Gutter as a generic term for a narrow watercourse, usually a small one flowing into a brook, is labeled obsolete by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, where the first citation for this sense is from Holland's (1601) translation of Pliny. The next pertinent reference is from New England – the Providence, Rhode Island *Record* in 1675. A passage from Robert Burns' *Holy Fair* that reads: „swankies young ... are springin' o'er the gutter" is not unequivocal evidence for the idea of a small stream, but does not entirely exclude the possibility. Trumbull's classic *History of Connecticut* (1797) contains a reference to "brooks and gutters," implying that these two features, while similar, were still readily distinguishable. Thoreau, in *Cape Cod*, written in 1855, says: "...we crossed a brook called *Jeremiah's Gutter*," from which we might conjecture that *gutter* as the generic element in this place name conflicted with his own personal term for the same sort of stream – brook. Similarly, a Midwesterner in New England might say "We crossed a creek called Roaring Brook," because the stream itself, regardless of its local name or its legal and established place name, remains, to the speaker, generically a creek.

Two further quotations noted in the *Dictionary of American English* support this sense of the word *gutter* and also establish it in New England: one is from the Amherst, Massachusetts *Record* of 1770; the other from Hawthorne's *House of Seven Gables*. The available literary evidence, oddly enough, shows the term more common in colonial America than in England itself; it is noted in Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaisms and Provincialisms*, and in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* where, quoting provincial glossaries, the entry pictures it as "a narrow watercourse, generally flowing into a brook," and "a small stream of water, deep and narrow." An article in the *Fishing Gazette* from Kent in 1899

describes "... marshes ... intersected with innumerable dykes or gutters choke full of weeds." Also noted are the place names *Hope Gutter* and *Grubb's Gutter* in nineteenth century Shropshire writings. Perhaps the most literary gutter in all England, however, was Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "dear gutter of Stowey"; in a chapter of John Livingston Lowes' *The Road to Xanadu* named in its honor, we find this rhapsodic excerpt from one of the poet's letters: "Were I transported to Italian plains, and lay by the side of the streamlet that murmured through an orange grove, I would think of thee, dear gutter of Stowey, and wish that I were poring on thee!" These are probably the most complimentary things anyone ever said about the humble gutter; and Lowes explains in a footnote that the Stowey gutter belies the modern connotations of its name. He substantiates this with Coleridge's own description: "Before our door a clear brook runs of very soft water. The runnel was as distinctive of the village as 'the four huge elms' which marked Alfoxden."

Modern English survival, though apparently in generic rather than specific use, is attested by an advertisement in the Shell Nature Series in the April 6, 1955 issue of *Punch*. A large water-color illustration shows numerous shore and marsh birds grouped in and around a narrow, shallow, fairly low-banked stream; and the accompanying text begins: "A tidal *gutter* on the east coast flats..."

An attempt to correlate the English homes of a number of the early settlers in Western Massachusetts with the appropriate information in the publications of the British Place Name Society proved interesting but fruitless. The volumes of their work thus far published – so exhaustive that even field names on larger estates are included – contain many references to brooks and streams, but none to gutters.

No attempt has been made to define the exact geographical limits of *gutter* in America. We do know that, like *swamp*, it became more common here than it ever was in England, and that it has been encountered by collectors of dialect and place names up and down the eastern seaboard. *Linguistic Atlas* workers in New England found only two informants using it, and then it was restricted to a specific place name context. In Charleston County, South Carolina, it is applied to a small stream in a salt marsh; Delaware knows it in a similar sense. My sole evidence for its occurrence anywhere west of the Alleghenies is the statement of an 80-year old

woman who told me that on her father's farm on part of the Cherokee strip in Kansas, there were two streams called gutters. The banks were high and worn and the streams had once been used as buffalo wallows. She presumes it was her father, a native of New England, who gave them the name *Gutter*. There is no conclusive evidence as yet for establishing the first use of the term in the United States, but a likely guess would be New England or Virginia around the middle of the seventeenth century. With only written evidence to rely on, we can only conjecture about its previous oral usage.

Earliest maps and land records demonstrate the use of *gutter* in the Connecticut Valley of Massachusetts; but the place names in which it occurs do not appear consistently. Certain distinctions and limitations of usage are evident: hill streams, even those which like a gutter, have steep sides and a relatively small flow of water in proportion to the size of the channel (also subject to seasonal variation), are usually called by other names. A similar topographic feature in many ways, but with higher sides and a larger valley of erosion, was customarily called a *dingle* – a term still commonly heard in the Valley, generically as well as in place names. The gutter is largely a lowland phenomenon. Perhaps because most of them were minor marsh streams, flowing through sparsely settled areas and having small topographic interest or economic significance, they were never a matter for much public concern. A few of them were, however, important enough to be named; usually descriptively, (*Running Gutter*, *Grassy Gutter*, *Dirty Gutter*, *Eight-Mile Gutter*), or for the owners or residents of the lands adjoining them (*Dorchester Gutter*, *Keep's Gutter*, *Sikes' Gutter*, *Terry's Gutter*). Let us examine the histories of some of these Connecticut Valley gutters in Massachusetts:

Eight Mile Gutter in the town of Wilbraham crosses the old Boston Post Road at a point which was a good eight miles east of the center of early Springfield. Around it are more of the common, utilitarian, workaday, landmark place names it represents: *Five-mile Pond*, *Nine-mile Pond*, and *Twelve-mile Brook*. This gutter is first mentioned in a land grant dated 1698: One of the pioneer Pynchons, who, with four companions, was making a rough survey of the area prior to "purchasing" it from the Indians, wrote: "We estimated the width of the pond there at about 60 rods and measured on West again to the rising near the *gutter* to a tree which made three miles." Charles Barrows, who studied Springfield place

names in the early years of this century, selected it as a typical gutter, and described it: "I followed the gutter to its source. The walk takes one through a swamp; above this under Stoney Hill is a pool which leads to a deer path; the valley opens into a space filled with black alder..."

The present name, *Eight Mile Gutter*, is first assigned to the stream in the official record of Pynchon's grant in the Registry of Deeds. The stream, or, more properly the channel, since it is now usually dry, is still known locally as *Eight Mile Gutter*, though intervening maps, including the United States Geological Survey topographic sheet for the area, show it with no name at all or designate it simply *stream* or *brook*. Edson's Historical Map of Wilbraham, compiled in 1917 and purporting to depict the history of the town since 1634, calls it Pole Bridge Brook and indicates a bridge of pine poles that once crossed it.

In 1795, the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which had already exerted considerable pressure on the citizenry to substitute civilized, genteel names for the barbarous and uncouth Indian designations, required all cities and towns in the Commonwealth to draw up and submit to it manuscript maps delineating their respective boundaries and noting salient topographical features. Springfield and its vicinity were accordingly surveyed by Israel Chapin, and the map was prepared by Luke and George Bliss. And on this map appears for the first time what may be the ugliest onomastic duckling of them all – *Dirty Gutter*. Though other small streams in the area, known earlier or later as *gutters* are called "small brook" or ignored completely, *Dirty Gutter* is clearly marked in the midst of what the Bliss brothers describe on the map as "pine barren interspersed with unimprovable swamp" – land which, incidentally, is now a densely settled section of Springfield. For at least the span of a generation, this gutter remained acceptable; it appears again on a small and wonderfully meticulous map drawn in 1827 by a prominent local author and divine, the Reverend William B. O. Peabody. Another call from the Great and General Court in 1830 demanded a new series of maps and surveys. The Springfield version is remarkably similar to the Bliss-Chapin map of 1785; in fact, one of the few differences is the omission of the name *Dirty Gutter*. Perhaps the slow process of euphemism had already begun: another stream called *Dorchester Gutter* in town records appears here as *Dorchester Brook*; and a

twentieth century copy of the Bliss-Chapin map, not altogether faithful to the original, has *Dirk's-* rather than *Dirty Gutter.*

Despite the doubly offensive potential of its name, *Dirty Gutter* did persist in local usage, attested by a deed dated March 23, 1846, conveying a small strip of land from Willial Orne to John and Charles Howard. The property description reads in part: "a tract of land lying in Springfield near Dirty Gutter." William Dwight, Justice of the Peace, signed his venerable names as witness, and the deed was recorded next day by Register William Rice, who may well have locked the name in his vault and never let it out – for this seems to have been the last public appearance of *Dirty Gutter* as a living name.

The only gutter shown on current editions of the United States Geological Survey topographic sheets for Hampden, Hampshire, and Franklin counties is *Running Gutter*, which rises in a marshy area in the town of Hatfield and eventually finds its way to the Mill River. It is certainly the longest and largest stream in the area to be designated as a *gutter*; it is also noteworthy that the USGS map offers the only evidence for the name – the same stream is called "brook one rod wide" on the state survey maps of 1753 and 1834. Later maps, done after the first edition of the USGS quadrangle in 1886 seem largely patterned after it, and follow the example in printing *Running Gutter.*

In the fall of 1754, Nathaniel Dwight completed a plan and survey of the Inward Commons of the town of Northampton, which, with "some alterations made by a committee" was finally published in April of 1757. It bears minute landmark notations – "spruce tree on ledge" and "stake and stones near path called Nehemiah's way"; and on a section of land thrust back by a crook in the Connecticut River, lying between "land sold to settle a former minister (Mr. Edwards)" and "sheep pasture of Timothy Dwight, esq.," is the mark of a stream flowing into the river. It bears the legend "pine bridge and gutter" and crosses a "path to boggy marsh and mountain" which later became the main road to Whately. This gutter, perhaps because of a flood or a change in its course occasioned by a shift in the soft soil through which it flowed, seems to have disappeared into limbo without ever having a proper name at all, because the Denison map, drawn 20 years later for the Great and General Court, merges it with the "brook from Baker's marsh," called Pine Brook on the 1831 map.

By way of an envoi, a brief look at the story of the gutter that started this inquiry: Jonathan Goldthwaite, an engraver by trade, made his home in Longmeadow during the first part of the nineteenth century. In 1831, he produced a map of the town, on which he designated as *Grass Gutter* the small stream, a little less than a mile long, that ran between Longmeadow Brook and the marsh along the road to East Longmeadow. Cartographically speaking, this was indeed a short-lived gutter, for after the Walling map of Hampden county in 1855, *Grass Gutter* or *Grassy Gutter* appears as a nameless squiggle of blue on maps and in county atlases; but we should remember that many of the latter contained considerable real estate promotion and were produced for the express purpose of attracting new residents. Then, too, these were Victorian times, when nice people made dainty references to limbs rather than legs, and proper ladies spoke never of a man's trousers, but of his unmentionables. Small wonder that Grassy Gutter lapsed into obscurity; the miracle is that the name it gave to the road beside it survived. Its very obscurity, off in low, sandy country overgrown with scrub oak and popple, was probably its salvation and the reason for its retention on the town books.

We have now seen that *gutter* has an eminently respectable history – it may even have come over on the Mayflower – and we are puzzled to realize that there are those among us who look upon it at best as a poor relation of a *dingle* and at worst as a freak to be summarily removed from official nomenclature. The current distaste for the word may go even beyond the connotations of gutter-snipes and minds in the gutter; it may be rooted in that awful first syllable, for *gut* was once rather common as a place name element. *Gut Canso Meadow*, mentioned in early land grant records for the town of East Longmeadow, has long since passed from public domain. That name, incidentally, may well have come to Massachusetts by way of Nova Scotia, where even today residents of Cape Breton Island have been known to apologize to tourists attending their popular Gaelic *Mod* for the indelicacy of the name *Gut of Canso*, the strait that separates Cape Breton Island from the mainland. Perhaps they will yet change it. *Guts* are found as far away as Jamaica, B. W. I.; *Running Gut*, in the north of the island, is a small stream that runs from wet land to the sea, much like the gutters of coastal United States, and strengthens the possibility that the horrendous gutter may itself be a euphemism.

A few hardy gutters have survived the process of purification: *Rattlesnake Gutter* and a road named after it can be found in the town of Leverett in Franklin County, Massachusetts; and in the town of Chester, in Hampden County, *Stony Gutter Run* (an interesting example of place name pleonasm) flows out a brief existence in the Berkshire foothills. But the small streams of New England seem now, regardless of size, to be called *brooks*, almost to the exclusion of other possible terms. *Creek* has moved West; *branch* has gone South, and *rill* has found refuge in poetry; and so it is that *gutter* may one day have the distinction of being the only one of their number to be euphemized out of existence.

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Brand Names. – There is a theory that a linotype machine, if properly adjusted, could type automatically, among lines of nonsense, all lines ever written in literature, or science, or journalism. To be sure the press would have to run billions of years, and the possibility of printing everything that has been printed since Gutenberg invented the movable type will remain a theory. However, during the last few months we learned that a manufacturer of drugs has applied this principle in a limited way. To all manufacturers of drugs, cosmetics, spices, and the like the problem of finding brand names becomes more pressing every year. The *ANS*, although it counts among its members most of the serious onomatologists of the country, has been unable to render any help along this line. Now one of the best known manufacturers of chemical and pharmaceutical products, Charles Pfizer & Company, seems to have found a solution. After adjusting an IBM 702 machine to the requirements for acceptable brand names, the machine produced within two hours 42,000 names. Even if only five percent of these names can be used, the experiment will have fulfilled its purpose. Could we not make a similar experiment with potential place names? Many of us are tired of the monotonous way of applying existing names again and again.

Indian Names in Tidewater Virginia

P. Burwell Rogers

On Saturday, July 31, 1619, the General Assembly of the Virginia colony prepared a set of petitions to be submitted to the officials of the Virginia Company in London. Among the articles in the document is one in which it is stated that the colonists hope that the officials "wilbe pleased to change the savage name of Kiccowtan, and to give that Incorporation a new name."[1]

Evidently the officials acted promptly on what they probably considered a minor matter. In a document dated May 7, 1620, requiring certain boroughs in Virginia to erect guest houses for newly-arrived settlers, the name *Kicowtan* (*sic*) is followed by the parenthetical explanation that it "hereafter shall be called *Elizabeth* City, by the name of his Maiesties [i. e., James I's] most vertuous and renowned Daughter."[2] The parentheses make it clear that the change in name had been accomplished officially by another document and that here the Virginians were merely being reminded of it.

These obscure remarks in the records of the Virginia Company explain in a large measure the general attitude of the early settlers in the Virginia colony towards the Indian place names that they found in their new homeland. On the one hand, it was natural linguistically for the English-speaking settlers to bestow English names on the new land; and on the other hand, it is not surprising that they took pains to replace Indian names when they considered them savage and heathen names not worthy of preservation by civilized Christian men. Thus, English place names have always predominated in Tidewater Virginia[3] from the time of its discovery down to today.

From the moment that the discoverers and the settlers first set foot on Virginia soil, they began to give English names to the new lands. The discoverers in calling the country Virginia derived that

[1] *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. Susan Myra Kingsbury (Washington, 1906–1935), III, 161.

[2] Ibid., III, 276.

[3] Tidewater Virginia includes the land east of a line running through the fall-lines of the four major rivers of the state and cutting through the cities of Washington, Fredericksburg, and Richmond. The Eastern Shore is a part of Tidewater.

name from the epithet "Virgin Queen," which had been applied with honor to Queen Elizabeth I. In December, 1606, the Virginia Company, with James I as its royal patron, sent three small ships under the command of Captain Christopher Newport to Virginia for the purpose of establishing a permanent colony. When Newport's party landed on a barren and sandy shore on April 26, 1607 (O. S.), they called the place Cape Henry. Recognizing that they had landed at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, they called the point Cape Charles that lay opposite Cape Henry. Thus, the names of the two capes honored the two surviving sons of their sovereign.

They were content to call the bay Chesapeake, the name of an Indian settlement on its southern shore, for earlier explorers had called the bay by that name. When Newport's men entered Chesapeake Bay and landed on its inner shore, they called the spot Point Comfort because, as George Percy wrote, "it put vs in good comfort."[4] Later the point was called Old Point Comfort to distinguish it from New Point Comfort at the mouth of Mobjack Bay some thirty miles to the north. Virginians today, however, universally call the two points simply Old Point and New Point.

As Newport's three little ships left Point Comfort and sailed the length of the roadstead to the west and entered a broad river, Captain John Smith named the point at the mouth of the river Point Hope to complement Point Comfort ten miles to the east. But the name did not last long, for it gave way to Point Breeze and to Newport News Point, the latter being the more common today.

The adventurers decided to settle on what appeared to be an island some forty miles up the river, and they were pleased to call their first village Jamestown in honor of their king and patron. For a short time they called the river flowing past their settlement by its Indian name Powhatan River, for the Indian king; but it soon seemed natural to call it James River for their own king. In 1634, when Virginia was divided into eight shires, the one incorporating Jamestown was called James City, a name surviving today in the name of the modern county.

The other seven original shires were Henrico (shortened from Henricopolis), Charles City, Charles River, Warwick River, Elizabeth City, Werrosquyoke, and Accomac. That only two of these are Indian names indicates in what slight regard the settlers held the native Indian names in Virginia. The fact that in 1637 Werro-

[4] *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. Edward Arber (Edinburgh, 1910), I, lxiii.

squyoke was changed to Isle of Wight and that in 1643 Accomac was changed to Northampton makes it evident that the settlers felt no responsibility for preserving Indian names.

The names of most of the original shires are today continued in the names of modern counties and cities. Henrico, Charles City, James City, Isle of Wight, and Northampton are all modern counties. In 1642/43 Charles River was changed to York, a name preserved in today's York County. In 1663 the northern part of Northampton County was cut off to make Accomac County, thereby restoring the Indian name that earlier had been discarded. Warwick River was shortened to Warwick, and in 1951 Warwick County became a municipality called Warwick. In the same year Elizabeth City County was also converted into a municipality, and its present name Hampton preserves the name of what is thought to be the oldest continuous English-speaking settlement in America.

In the names of the original shires and of the later counties we see evidence of particular practices followed by the colonists in naming geographical features of Virginia. First, in applying English names to Virginia, they honored their king in naming Jamestown, James River, and James City. Second, members of the royal family were also honored in names like Cape Henry, Cape Charles, Elizabeth City, Henrico, and Charles City. Third, patrons of the Virginia Company were likewise honored, Warwick River being named for Robert Rich, the second Earl of Warwick (1587 to 1658) and Hampton for Henry Wriothesley, the third Earl of Southampton (1573–1624), who is better known today as a patron of William Shakespeare.

As later counties were formed, the colonists borrowed names to remind themselves of such English shires as Surrey, Gloucester, Middlesex, Essex, Lancaster, Northumberland, and Westmoreland. In the names of such older Virginia cities as Norfolk, Portsmouth, Suffolk, and Richmond the colonists recalled English cities that they had known. While the name Newport News is undoubtedly of English origin, its source is now so obscured that no one can say with confidence and conviction where the name came from.[5]

After the Virginia colony had become permanent and men had acquired large holdings and had begun to build homes after the English fashion, they also began to give names to their homes

[5] C. W. Evans, "Newport News: What's in a Name?" *Newport News' 325 Years*, ed. Alexander Crosby Brown (Newport News, Va., 1946), pp. 24–30.

after the English fashion. Along the James River homes dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have such English names as Upper Brandon, Lower Brandon, Westover, Shirley, Berkeley, Claremont, Green Springs, Carter's Grove, and Denbigh (of Welsh origin). Chippokes and Weyanoke are the only Indian names of homes that readily come to mind. Since literally hundreds of homes in Tidewater Virginia have names, they provide the material for an independent study. The few from the James River section cited here serve merely as a small but general representation of the kinds of names applied to homes throughout the Tidewater area in Virginia.

As a result of the settlers' low esteem of Indian place names and as a result of their efforts to obliterate them, Tidewater Virginia today contains comparatively few Indian names. Perhaps the largest number is applied to the waters flowing into the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. The name of the bay itself is of Indian origin, as are the names of such rivers as Potomac, Rappahannock, Piankatank, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Poquoson, Chickahominy, Appomattox, and Nansemond. There are also creeks with names like Dogue, Pohick, Accotink, Occaquan, Chuckatuck, and Pungoteague. On the other hand, though, the Tidewater area is cut by so many streams that waters with English names actually far outnumber those with Indian names.

Here and there in rural areas and along the waters' edges are small towns and villages with Indian names like Massaponax, Tappahannock, Toano, Kiptopeake, Onancock, Wachapreague, and Nassawadox. The islands Assawoman, Chincoteague, and Assateague have given their names to an assortment of inlets, bays, and settlements just as the rivers and creeks have often given their names to settlements and areas.

Only nine of Virginia's present ninety-nine counties have Indian names. Nansemond, which was named in 1642, is the oldest county bearing an Indian name; and Accomac dates from 1663. The other counties with Indian names (Alleghany, Appomattox, Nottaway, Powhatan, Rappahannock, Roanoke, and Shenandoah) are in the central and western parts of the state. They all were named in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when people had come to look upon Indian names as romantic names belonging to the Noble Savage.

English names are used generally for the names of homes in the Tidewater area; but among the older homes there are a few with

Indian names like Cappahosic, Poropotank, and Purton (corrupted from Powhatan?) in Gloucester County; Nomini Hall in Westmoreland County; and Corotoman in Lancaster County. These names, it must be remembered were not applied by the first settlers but by later generations; but, nevertheless, it is remarkable that only comparatively few Indian names have been given to homes in eastern Virginia.

Numerous Indian names have now been lost as far as practical use is concerned. Many people know that Powhatan's Chimney is thought to have stood at the Indian village Werowocomoco on the banks of the creek formerly called by that name in Gloucester County. But today the name is no longer applied to the area, and the creek is called Timberneck Creek. The name of the Indian village Chiaskiack was for two or three hundred years preserved in the name of a home that stood on the site. Today, however, the home is gone, the site is incorporated in the reservation of the Navy Mine Depot near Yorktown, and only a few people recall that the name had been corrupted into Cheesecake many years before that term was appropriated by commercial photographers.Werrosquyoke has disappeared completely except from historical and scholarly studies, and many Indian place names in early writings like Captain John Smith's *A True Relation* and *A Map of Virginia* were never taken up by the English-speaking settlers or their descendants.

Of the Indian names in Tidewater Virginia today the name of Chesapeake Bay is one of the few that has continued without change from the time it was assigned. Kecoughtan, Accomac, and Pamunkey are almost unique in being continued. In each instance these names have been applied to different places and waters at different times, and their survival is largely due to the insistence of a few persons with a romantic turn of mind.

Americans in general probably believe that the settlers in all the thirteen original colonies preserved a large proportion of Indian place names that they found; but, as it pertains to Virginia, this belief is not justified by the evidence of our brief survey here. In Virginia English place names predominate while Indian place names are comparatively few.

An examination of the place names in the other original colonies would undoubtedly be of interest and value in throwing more light on the practices followed in giving names to the geographical features of the Atlantic seaboard.

Some Call it Money

C. Grant Loomis

THE PRINTED RECORDS for even the commonest nonce words are not easy to locate. The difficulty is not that they do not get into print frequently, but that the attention lags, unless we set out to make a specific capture. The notation of any word-genre which depends upon desultory annotation is likely to be haphazard. Nevertheless, even fitful recognitions will accumulate eventually to a partial collection of substitutes for a normal and traditional word. We all are aware that money has many names. A dozen popular terms will come to mind without effort. Such words persist often for a long time; others live but briefly. Fashions change, and words, like men, have their day. For example, *rhino*, of unknown English origin, noted in 1688, continued in America at least until 1843. (See Robert Carlton, *The New Purchase*, N. Y., 1843, II, 175: High learning became as popular as common schools . . . It brought the rhino!). The word seems to have no record in this century.

The following list of substitutes for money has grown from a sporadic reading-list, which is made up particularly from books which appeared in the last five years. Their character is decidedly popular, because the volumes were chosen deliberately as likely sources for the kind of language which, otherwise, might not find its way into print. Even so, the laggard eye missed, no doubt, many illustrations of substitute terms, particularly, since its search had been directed to other kinds of phraseology, as well. A few words have no recent annotation, not because they have no record, but because the compiler has only heard them and has not noted their specific appearance. The contribution's value lies in its partial record of slang expressions in use during the last half dozen years.[1]

Alfalfa. See *Hay.* Noted orally within the last decade.

Amperes. John O'Hara, *Hope of Heaven*, Bantam Books, N. Y., 1956. (Original edition, Harcourt Brace, N. Y., 1938), p. 13.

[1] Early appearances of words are noted as they appear in Mitford M. Mathews, *A Dictionary of Americanisms*, U. of Chicago Press, 1951. Hereafter as *Mathews.*

Apples. Henry Kane, *Report for a Corpse*, Simon Schuster, N. Y., 1947: He donated five thousand apples to the cause. P. 159.

Bankroll. Richard Starnes, *Another Mug for the Bier*, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 76.

Bean. Raymond Chandler, *The Long Goodbye*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1954, p. 12: The guy was down and out...without a bean. The use of beans as poker chips may have suggested this substitution for dollar. *Mathews*, I, 92.

Berries. Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt*, Harcourt Brace, N. Y., 1922, p. 103. *Mathews*, I, 108.

Bewks. Henry Kane, *Until Your Dead*, Simon Schuster, N. Y., 1951, p. 154.

Bones. Life Magazine (Old *Life*), Vol. 64, 1914, p. 911. Here in the sense of dollars.

Buck. James M. Fox, *The Scarlet Slippers*, Little Brown, Boston, 1952, p. 49; Richard Starnes, *Another Mug for the Bier*, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 42: I was a thousand bucks richer than I had been. A counter used in poker. *Mathews*, I, 198. See *Sawbuck*; *Seesaw.*

Bundle. Henry Kane, *Bare Trap*, Ives Washburn, N. Y., 1952, p.65.

Bushels. John O'Hara, *Hope of Heaven*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Cabbage; *Cabbage Leaves.* John O'Hara, *Ibid.*, p. 13; Stewart Sterling, *Dead Wrong*, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1947, p. 148; Adam Knight, *Stone Cold Blond*, Signet Books, N. Y., 1951, p. 31. *Cabbage Leaves*: Henry Kane, *Report for a Corpse*, Simon Schuster, N. Y., 1947, p. 3.

Chicken Feed. Ira Wolfert. *The Underworld*, Bantam Books, N. Y., 1943, p. 13. Small money, usually coin.

Chink. See the old proverb: So we have the chink, we'll bear the stink. Henry G. Bohn, *A Hand-Book of Proverbs*, London 1875 (1815), p. 488.

Chips. Ed Lacy, *The Woman Aroused*, Avon Publishing, N. Y., 1951, p. 22. In the sense of gambling: "To be in the chips".

Clams. David Alexander, *Most Men Don't Kill*, Random House, N.Y., 1951, p. 31. Here, dollars. See also, Harold Q. Masur, *Suddenly a Corpse*, Simon Schuster, N.Y., 1949, p. 77.

Deuce. Two dollars. Walter Snow, *The Golden Nightmare*, Austin-Phelps, N.Y., 1952, p. 99: To bet upon a horse; to put a deuce on.

Dinero. Henry Kane, *Until You're Dead*, Simon Schuster, N.Y., 1951, p. 154. *Mathews*, I, 487.

Dough. Mickey Spillane, *My Gun Is Quick*, Signet Books, N.Y., 1950, p. 51; William Gault, *The Canvas Coffin*, E. P. Dutton, N.Y., 1953, p. 49. *Mathews*, I, 512. Earliest entry, 1851.

Dross. Richard Starnes, *Another Mug for the Bier*, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 65.

Fin. Five Dollars.

Fish. Dollar. H. Allen Smith, *Low Man on a Totem Pole*, Doubleday Doran, N.Y., 1941, p. 235; John Gonzales, *Death for Mr. Big*, Gold Medal Books, N.Y., 1951, p. 52; William Gault, *The Canvas Coffin*, E. P. Dutton, N.Y., 1953, p. 121.

Fourth-of-July-flags. Jack Dolph, *Hot Tip*, Doubleday, N.Y., 1951, p. 156: Fourth-of-July-flags stir no hearts when they're stored in bank vaults.

Frog Skins. Bills. *Mathews*, I, 669, 1922.

G. Grand. One thousand dollars.

Gate. Money taken in at sporting events.

Gelt. John O'Hara, Hope of Heaven, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Pennsylvania German for *Das Geld.*

Gills. Anonymous, *I. Mobster*, Fawcett Publications, N.Y., 1951, p. 150.

Gravy. Ed Lacy, *The Men from the Boys*, Harper, N.Y., 1956, p. 24: We all put in long hours, but the gravy was worth it.

Green Garbardine. Thomas Walsh, *The Night Watch*, Little Brown, Boston, 1952, p. 28.

Green Stuff. Sam S. Taylor, *No Head for Her Pillow*, E. P. Dutton, N.Y. 1952, p. 83.

Hay. Ellery Queen, *The Origin of Evil*, Little Brown, Boston, 1951, p. 6; John Ross MacDonald, *Meet Me at the Morgue*, Knopf, N.Y., 1953, p. 55.

Ice. Terry Spain, *Time to Kill*, Popular Library, N.Y., 1953, p. 9. Here used as pay-off of graft to public officials. Ordinarily, underworld usage for diamonds.

Iron Men. Dollars. *Life*, Vol. 79, p. 1, 1922. *Mathews*, II, 1022, No quote.

Jack. Mathews, I, 893, 1922.

Kale. Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt*, Harcourt Brace, N.Y., 1922, p. 172; Raymond Chandler, *Pick-Up on Noon Street*, Pocket Books, N.Y., 1952 (1950), p. 7. *Mathews*, I, 921, 1902.

Kick. Harold Q. Masur, *So Lovely and So Dead*, Simon Schuster, N.Y., 1952, p. 4. Savings. Sometimes also the place where savings are kept.

Kick-in. W. R. Burnett, *Little Men, Big World*, Bantam Books, Knopf, N.Y., 1953 (1951), p. 23. Here used as graft-money. Noun from: to kick in, contribute, *Mathews*, I, 930, 1891.

Lagniappe. Stewart Sterling, *Dead Wrong*, J. P. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1947, p. 70. Originally, a present or tip. Here, used for income. *Mathews*, I, 948.

Lettuce. Stewart Sterling, *Alarm in the Night*, Dell, N.Y., 1949, p. 74. Handing out lettuce-tips. Here, obviously, bills.

Long Green. Mickey Spillane, *Vengeance Is Mine*, Signet Books, N.Y., 1951, p. 66. *Mathews*, II, 999, 1896.

Marker. Frank Kane, *Bare Trap*, Ives Wasburn, N.Y., 1952, p. 64. The meaning here is I.O.U., that is, money on a gambling debt. Probably from one who wrote stock-market prices on the board. *Mathews*, II, 1029.

Mazuma. Mickey Spillane, *My Gun Is Quick*, Signet Books, N.Y., 1950, p. 53. Yiddish. *Mathews*, II, 1038. 1926. At least five years earlier. See William MacLeod Raine, *Gunsight Pass*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1921: I'd ruther show the way at the finish than at the start. You're more liable to collect the mazuma.

Mint Leaves. Mel Colton, *The Big Fix*, Ace Books, N.Y., 1952, p. 37. *Mathews*, II, 1061, 1929.

Moo. Henry Kane, *A Halo for Nobody*, Simon Schuster, N.Y., 1947, p. 111; W. R. Burnett, *Vanity Row*, Knopf, N.Y., 1952, p. 270. Short for *Moolah.*

Moola(h). John Roeburt, *There Are Dead Men in Manhattan*, Graphic, N.Y., 1946, p. 112.

Open Seesaw. Henry Kane, *Until You're Dead*, Simon Schuster, N.Y., 1951, p. 154. Here, a ten-dollar bill.

Package. See *Bundle.* Jack Dolph, *Hot Tip*, Doubleday, N.Y., 1951, p. 156. A top-rider during his few best seasons puts away a package. Here, savings.

Plunk. One dollar. *Mathews*, II, 1267, 1891.

Ready. Usually, the ready, as in, "I don't need the ready."

Sashweights. Henry Kane, *Report for a Corpse*, Simon Schuster, N.Y., 1947, p. 151.

Sawbuck. Ten dollars. *Mathews*, II, 1463, 1850.

Scratch. Anonymous, *I, Mobster*, Fawcett, N.Y., 1951, p. 38; William Ard, *A Private Party*, Rinehart, N.Y., 1953, p. 21. See: to scratch gravel, that is, work for a living, hence, money for the effort. *Mathews*, II, 1477, 1898.

Scrip. John O'Hara, *Hope of Heaven*, Bantam Books, N.Y., 1956 (1938), p. 13. *Mathews*, II, 1479, 1790.

Shekels. Marston Lafrance, *Miami Murder-Go-Round*, World, N.Y., 1951, p. 24. Yiddish.

Spinach. John O'Hara, *Hope of Heaven*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Stack. Ernest K. Gann, *Fiddler's Green*, William Sloan, N.Y., 1950, p. 29: So I'm quietly getting a stack. Here, savings. Probably from poker, a stack of chips. *Mathews*, II, 1631.

Sugar. James M. Cain, *The Moth*, Knopf, N.Y., 1948, p. 16; Tom Wicker, *The Kingpin*, Pocket Books, N.Y., 1955, p. 24: Judge Benton kicked in for the Colonel. Heavy sugar, too. *Mathews*, II, 1676, has: To bring sugar in one's spade; i. e., to pay a bribe, hence, easy money.

Swad. H. L. Davis, *Honey in the Horn*, Pocket Books, N.Y., 1951 (1934). As a swad of money, a large amount.

Swag. James Hadley Chase, *The Double Shuffle*, E. P. Dutton, N.Y., 1953, p. 37: The barman collected the swag. See Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt*, Harcourt Brace, 1922, p. 236.

Take. What was taken in; the whole amount of money.

Tin. Puck, X, p. 68, 1881. Remembered from about 1914. No recent usage.

Velvet. Raymond Chandler, *Pick-Up on Noon Street*, Pocket Books, N.Y., 1952 (1950), p. 42. *Mathews*, II, 1809, 1901.

Volts. John O'Hara, *Hope of Heaven*, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Here, dollars.

Wad. Joseph Shallit, *Lady, Don't Die on my Doorstep*, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 48; Oakley Hall, *So Many Doors*, Bantam Books, N.Y., 1950, p. 126: We shot our wad on the dam thing. *Mathews*, II, 1821, 1814.

Wampum. John O'Hara, *Hope of Heaven*, *op. cit.*, p. 13. *Mathews*, II, 1828.

Washer. Dollar in silver.

What-it-takes. John Roeburt, *There Are Dead Men in Manhattan*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Where-withall. As in, "He didn't have the where-withall."

Yard. One hundred dollars. Henry Kane, *Report for a Corpse*, Simon Schuster, N.Y., 1947, p. 209: a yard and a half; Raymond Chandler, *Pick-Up in Noon-Street*, *op. cit.*, p. 103: 5 yards; James M. Fox, *Bright Serpent*, Little Brown, Boston, 1953, p. 7: three yards.

★ ★ ★

Buck or Horse. – The definition sawhorse, as given in the June issue of *Names*, takes in too much territory. I was familiar with the contraption in my youth and the combination: bucksaw and sawbuck seemed an inseparable one. I came from a family of carpenters and they did not use the word "horse" in the sense of a temporary support. These objects were called "trussles", i. e. trestles.

W. L. McAtee.

West North Versus East South

Elsdon C. Smith

THE TITLE OF THIS ARTICLE cannot refer to bridge because in that game North and South always team together against East and West. Mr. David Lindsey wonders why West and North are so much more common as surnames than East and South.*

One might use the phrase of the writer of the *Coir Anmann* who prefaced the answer to so many of his own questions of "whence is he so called?" with: "Easy to say".

East and South are relatively rare surnames. There are more Norths than Easts and Souths combined. The most popular direction name is West. There are three times as many Wests as there are Norths, Easts and Souths combined. Out of every hundred thousand people there are four or five Easts and almost the same number of Souths, with about sixteen Norths and approximately seventy Wests.

These four names are all English names. Most persons bearing these directions as surnames acquired them by reason of having come from that direction during the period in which surnames arose. A few of these names were derived from the fact that the men bearing them lived on the outskirts of a village in a certain direction or the names were short forms of longer descriptions, such as "north of the church."

The bulk of the population of England at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, and for several centuries thereafter, the surname period, dwelt in the South and East of England. For centuries the North of England was slow in recovering from the ruthless devastation of William, the Conqueror, in 1069–70. The southern and eastern counties were politically, economically and socially much more important than the northern counties. In the South and East surnames first arose.

An important concentration of population was also found in the southwestern counties. When a west countryman came to London and the southeastern part of England he often acquired West as a

* *NAMES*, Vol. IV, March, 1956, p. 59.

surname. In the densely populated East and Southeast few acquired these directions as surnames. Those who did come from the extreme East or extreme South were more likely to acquire as a surname the name of the village from whence they came, because the village, being nearby, would be better known. The great, sparsely populated North was a district little known to the ordinary man in the South and East and when one came from the North he often acquired North as a surname.

The distribution of these names as given by Guppy in his *Homes of Family Names in Great Britain* provides only mild support for this explanation of their derivation, but then that study reflects later movements of the people. Matheson, in his *Surnames in Ireland*, lists only North and West, the latter being rather evenly spread throughout Ireland, while North is found principally in Leinster and Ulster.

West owes some of its popularity to the fact that some were so named by reason of dwelling on, or near, the waste, barren or desolate land, from Early English *wēste.*

Over the years, in England, North has been a wellknown name borne by a famous English family, some of whose members bore the title of Baron North, one of them being Lord North, Prime Minister to George III, who did much to infuriate the American colonists. There have been several famous English and American Wests, among which were two Americans with the forename of Benjamin, a mathematician and a painter. Today's best-known West is Rebecca West, the pseudonym used by the English novelist Cicily Isabel Fairfield. The South family's best-known man was the English preacher, Robert South, famous in the latter part of the seventeenth century. An American biologist named Edward Murray East holds the honors of his family.

Name Lore in Latin America 1954—1955

Jack Autrey Dabbs

THE SCIENCE OF GENEALOGY has attracted much attention among Iberian writers, and their cultural descendents in Latin America, and a proliferation of books attests the pride and pleasure that many individuals in the Spanish-speaking world derive from pointing to famous men or women among their ancestors. Jokesters and scientists of various generations have poked holes in this attitude, but to no avail; and genealogical studies still furnish a fruitful and valuable field of research for those willing to go to the trouble of patching old records together and constructing family trees. Of the many printed works on the subject, many of which show beautiful printing, binding, and illustrations as well as elaborate research, this bibliography can only list samples, usually the most easily accessible. So far the references of most use include items no. 8, 9, 28, 76, 243, 269, 272, 342, 365, 432, 441, 460, 473, 480, 481, 486, 492, and 493. Other entries containing more raw material for such studies are 12, 82, 83, 86, 87, 93, 94, 95, 288, 342, 351, 396, 471, 473, 474, 477, 489.

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488. Zambrano, Domingo, "Índice o vocabulario alfabético geográfico de Honduras," in *Revista del Archivo* y *Biblioteca Nacionales* XXXI (1952) 51–66, 133–148, 224–234, 387–402; XXXII (1953) 88–103; XXXIII (1954) 72–78. One-line entries showing location.

Mexico:

489. Castañeda, Carlos E. and Jack Autrey Dabbs, *Independent Mexico in Documents. A Calendar of the Hernández y Dávalos Collection of Manuscripts in the University of Texas.* Editorial Jus, Mexico, 1955. Index, pp. 423–599, lists all proper names in this extensive collection, which deals with early 19th Century Mexico. Contains many place names no longer used. Contains also, e.g., muster rolls of most of the Mexican rebel (i.e. patriot) troops in the War of Independence from Spain. Important personages of early 19th Century Mexico are nearly certain to appear here. Note also index headings *Aliases* and *Institutions.*

490. Dávila Garibi, J. Ignacio, *Algunas observaciones acerca de la lengua Ópata o Tegüima, rico en vocablos de interés para el estudio de la flora y de la fauna regionales.* Mexico, Editorial Cultura, 1950. 46 pp. Bibliography pp. 39–46.

491. Pineda, Salvador, "Onomástica de Morelia," in *Excélsior* (Mexico City), September 25, 1954, p. 7A. Origin of the name.

492. Rábida, Antonio de la, "Heráldica y apellidos," in *Excélsior.* A continuation in 1954 of the daily column described in No. 243. The fact that some names appear more than once does not mean that the discussions are identical. The names discussed in 1954 are Abadal, Abril, Acevedo, Adalid, Ágreda, Aguado, Agraz, Aizpuru, Albornoz, Albuerne, Alcalde, Almeida, Alonso (Alfonso), Alvarado, Andia, Andrade, Aparicio, Apezteguía, Arana, Aranda, Arandia, Araujo, Arbizu, Ardid, Areizaga, Arellano, Arenal, Arenas, Aristo, Armendáriz, Arizcun, Armenteros, Armijo, Arroyabe, Arroyo, Artecona, Avellaneda, Ayora, Azcárraga, Balderas, Ballesteros, Bar-

bosa, Bardaji, Barreiro, Barrientos, Basco (Vasco), Basurto, Bazán, Becerra, Bedoya, Belmonte, Beltrán, Benavides, Berástegui, Bethencourt, Blázquez, Bofarull, Bolaños, Bonastre, Bonilla, Borgas, Borrell, Bort, Bosch, Bretón, Briones, Brunet, Bustamante, Calatraba, Calleja, Camacho, Campa, Campillo, Campo (del Campo), Cañedo, Capetillo, Carrasco, Carreño, Carrera, Casariego, Caso, Castaño (Castaños), Castellanos, Castillejo, Castillo, Centellas, Cerda, Cerra, Cervera, Cetina, Cisneros, Colina, Contreras, Córcuera, Coria, Cornejo, Coronel, Cuadra, Cuéllar, Cuesta, Cueto, Chaves, Delgado, Domenzain, Durán, Echegaray, Echegoyen, Egea, Eguiarte, Entenza, Errazu, Escobar, Escobedo, Espantoso, Esparza, Esquivel, Falcón, Fernández, Ferreira, Figueroa, Figuerola, Flon, Flores, Font, Galán, Gamboa, Garibay, Garmendia, Garosabel, Godoy, Gómez, Gomis, Guillén, Havia, Hera (Heras), Hernández (two discussions), Herrán (Herranz), Herrera, Higuero (Higueras), Huarte, Iglesias, Infante, Inzaurraga, Irigoyen, Isaza, Jamuscado Jaramillo, Jáuregui, Jiménez de los Cobos, Jurado, Lando, Larrondo, Lanz, Lastra, León, Llaguno, Llamas, Lomeli, Lozano, Luna, Luyando, Machín, Madrazo, Madrigal, Manosalbas, Manterola, Marco (Marcos), Marín, Marquez, Matallana, Mateo (Mateos), Mazariegos, del Mazo, Meana, Mejía, Melo, Mena, Mendoza, Menéndez, Merino, Mijares, Miralles, Moncada, Montero, Montes, Morán, Mosquera, Munarriz, Muñoz, Navarro, Navas, Nevado, Neve, Nieva, Niño, Nogues, Novoa, Obregón, Ochoa, Ocio, O'Farrill, Olaso, Olesa, Oliva, Olmo, Onís, Oroquieta, Ortuzar, Oviedo, Páez, Pando, Pantoja, Pardiñas, Paredes, Parras, Pastor, Pedrajas, Pedroso, Peláez, Pellicer, Peñafiel, Peñalosa, Perea, Pérez, Pesqueiro, Pinar, Pizarro, Polo, Ponce, Ponce de León, Portugal, Puente, (de la) Puerta, Pulido, Quijano, Quintero, Quiroga, Quirós, Rábago, Redondo, Requena, Ribera, Ribero, Rico, Robledo, Rodas, Rodríguez, Rojo, Rol, Roldán, Romeu, Romo, Rosales, Rosello, de la Rosa, Rubí, Rull, Sáenz, de la Sala, Saldaña, Salvadores, Samaniego, Sanabria, Sánchez, Santa Cruz, Santiago, Sevillano, Sequeira, Siscara, Solano, Tabares, Tejada, Téllez, Terrazas, Toledo, Torres, Tovar, Trujillo, Urbina, Uriarte, Uribe, Urrutia, Varela, Vázquez, Vergara, Viana, Vidal, Villalobos, Villar, Vives, Vivanco, Zaldúa, Zárate, and Zuloaga.

493. Rábida, Antonio de la, "Heráldica y apellidos", in *Excélsior*, a continuation in 1955 of the daily column described in No. 243. The names discussed are Abedillo (Avedillo), Adell, Aguas, Agüero,

Aguiar, Aizpurua, Alava, Alcántara, Aldama, Aldunete, Allés, Amor, Ángel, Ansaldo, Aragón, Arancibia, Arboleda (Arboleya), (del) Arco, Arechaga, Argüelles, Ariztizabal, Arostegui, Artigas, Arredondo, Arribillaga, Arriola, Arroniz, Ascanio, Astudillo, Avendaño, Avinyo, Aza, Azpiroz, Bárbara, Baquedano, (del) Barco, Barona (Barahona), Barragán, Basabe, Beneded, Benedit, Beneyto, Benítez, Bermeo, Bermúdez, Bernal, Beytia, Blanca, Blanco, Bofill, Bolós, Bonet, Bonifaz, Brito, Busquets, Cabana(s), Cabrera, Cacho, Cagiga(s), Caicedo, Calderón, Calvo, Calvache, (de la) Calle, Cámara, Campoy, Canal, Canales, Canovas, Canseco, Cantón, Cañizares, Carbonell, Cárdenas, Carlos, Caro, Carreras, Carrillo, Carrión, Casas, Cayón, Castello, Cea, Ceballos (Zeballos), Cedeño, Celis, Cepeda (Zepeda), Cerecero, Cifontes (Cifuentes), Clavijo, Claramunt, Coalla, Coaña, Cobo (de los Cobos), Coca, Codina, Contador, Corbi, Corral, Coutiño, Cuéllar, Cuevas, Curiel, Chamorro, Chinchilla, Chiriboga, Daza, Deya, Díaz, Domenech, Domingo, Dorantes, Dueñas, Duque de Estrada, Echenique, Egaña, Egocheaga, Eguren (Eguiguren), Elizaga, Elizondo, Enciso, Escalante, Espín, Espinar, Ezpeleta, Fabra, Fabregas, Falguerres, Feo, Ferrán, Fierro, Figuera(s) or Figueres, Figueredo, (de la) Flor, Florín (Florit), Fonseca, Fort, Francia, Franco, Frías, Funes, Fuster, Gaitán (Gaytán), Galarza, Galdós, Galíndez, Galván, Gándara, Garriga, Garrastequi (Goróstegui), Gascón, Gavín, Gato, Gelabert (Gilibert), Gener (Giner), Gibaja, Godínez, Goenaga, Granados, Granda, Grijalva, Guadalajara, Guillamas, Heredia, Hermoso, Hierro, Hoyo(s), Huerta, Ibarra, Iguanzo, Iraola, Iribas, Iribe, Irigoyen, Irizar, Irún, Isequilla, Isern, Jaén, Jaime, Jorba, Lago(s), (la) Lama, Laiseca, Landeta, Larrea, Larrinaga, Larrúa, Larrosa, Lasaga, Lasalde, Laso (Lasso), Lavín, Legasa, Lejarza, Lemos (Lemus), Leniz, Liceaga, Lili, Liñán, Lizárraga, Luján, Londoño, Llera, Llinás (Linás), Llobregat, Llorente, Macías, Malo, Manero, Manzano, Marchán(t), Mariñas, Más, Massat, Matamoros, Matanza, Medel, Mella, Méndez, Mendiando, Mendieta, Mendívil, Menocal, Mercader, Mesa, Mir, Molina, Monje, Montalvo, Montañés, Montejo, Montemayor, Montserrat, Montúfar, Morera, Morquecho, Moscoso, Múgica, Munguía, Munibe, Muñiz, Murias, Nadal, Májera, Narango, Narváez, Nin, Noel, Nogueira, Noriega, Nuevo, Nuez, Núñez, Obrador(s), Olarte, Olascoaga, Olmedo, Olvera, Oñate, Ordóñez, Orellana, Orihuela, Oro, Ortuño, Orúe, Osorio, Otegui, Ovando (twice), Oyarzabal, Pablo, Padrón, Palma, Palau, Parada(s), Pa-

reja, Parrales, Pasamontes, Pastrana, Payno, Pazos, Pedrajas, Pedreguera, Perdomo, Perera, Peyrero (Pereira), Pichardo, Piedra, Pila(s), (del) Pino, Piñeiro, Pontón, Portela, Prats, Puig, Quijada, Quinza, Quiñones, Ramiro, Rengifo, Retes, Riaño, Rica, Riera, Rivascacho, Robles, Rocha, Roche, Román, Rosado, Ruimayor, Salva, Salvidea (Zalvidea), Santibáñez, Santillán, (del) Saz, Sedeño, Sequeiros (Siqueiros), Soriano, Soroa, Sorzano, Taboada, Tamariz, Tato, Tavera (Tavira), Terán, Tormo, Tornel, Trapaga, Unda, Ureta, Uribarri, Ursúa, Urtusuastegui, Urzaiz, Urrestarazu, Ustariz, Valcárcel, Valdivia, Valdivieso, Valencia, Valverde (twice), Velarde, Verdugo, Villafranca, Villamil, Villarreal, Volante, Zalvidea, Zambrano, Zarzuela, Zavala, Zea, Zeballos, Zepeda, Zirión.

494. Tibón, Gutierre, "Gog y Magog," in *Excélsior*, June 28, 1954, p. 6B. Names discussed: Turnbull, Buchanan, Bartlett, Maldonado, MacDonald, Macal, Scott, Baldovino, Garibaldo, Tremblay, Toto, and Bartolomé.

495. ...., "Gog y Magog. Análisis semántico de Putla," in *Excélsior*, January 17, 1955, p. 6A.

496. ...., "Gog y Magog. Chochas, Chochones, y Chochontes," in *Excélsior*, March 22, 1955, p. 7A. Some Tlapaneco etymologies of names.

497. ...., "Gog y Magog, Elogio de Campeche," in *Excélsior*, December 19, 1955. P. 6A. Etymology.

498. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Colima," in *Excélsior*, October 14, 1955. P. 6A. History of the name.

499. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Chihuahua," in *Excélsior*, June 27, 1955. P. 6A. Etymology of the name.

500. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Nayarit," in *Excélsior*, September 6, 1955. P. 6A. Etymology.

501. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Querétaro," in *Excélsior*, August 24, 1955. P. 6A.

502. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Sonora," in *Excélsior*, April 4, 1855. P. 6A.

503. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Tamaulipas," in *Excélsior*, July 25, 1955. P. 6A. Etymology.

504. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Tlaxcala," in *Excélsior*, October 24, 1955. P. 6A. Etymology and history.

505. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio de Yucatán," in *Excélsior*, September 22, 1955. P. 6A. Etymology; retention of Maya family names.

506. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio del Estado de Guerrero," in

Excélsior, October 8, 1955. P. 6A. History of the name; Costa Grande and Costa Chica.

507. ...., "Gog y Magog. Elogio del Estado de Hidalgo," in *Excélsior*, August 18, 1955. P. 6A.

508. ...., "Gog y Magog. El último apellido Mixteco," in *Excélsior*, November 22, 1955. P. 6A. Etymology of *Mexico*, *Tzintzuntzan*, and Tarascan relations.

509. ...., "Gog y Magog. Escoceses en Tehuacán," in *Excélsior*, February 15, 1954, p. 6A. Names discussed: McCall, Macal, and Güendolain.

510. ...., "Gog y Magog. Exégesis de Mediz Bolio," in *Excélsior*, June 21, 1954, p. 6B. Discusses also other names: Emeterio and Trápaga.

511. ...., "Gog y Magog. Miranda y Mirandolina, Basurto," in *Excélsior*, June 14, 1954, p. 6B.

512. ...., "Gog y Magog. La Parafilología." in *Excélsior*, February 3, 1954, p. 6B. Etymology of Gangroniz and Gordo.

513. ...., "Gog y Magog. Xalixco y Tlapatíolil," in *Excélsior*, June 13, 1955, pp. 6A and 119. Also etymology of Guadalajara.

514. ...., "Gog y Magog. Chía, Chiapa, Chiapas," in *Excélsior*, May 31, 1954, p. 6B. Study of the name Chiapas.

515. Mendoza, Vicente T., "La toponimia en las coplas de México," in [*Almanaque*] *Previsión y Seguridad*, Monterrey, 1954, pp. 205, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220.*

Peru:

516. Millán de Palavecino, María Delia, *Lexicografía de la Vestimenta en el área de influencia del quechua.* Buenos Aires, no date. 33 pp.*

517. Oesch, Will A., "Sobre algunos nombres populares del arco-iris," in *Tradición, Revista Peruana de cultura* (Cuzco), VI No. 15 (1954) 2–6. Survey of the names given the rainbow in various world languages. Notes by the editor apply directly to the languages of Peru.

Venezuela:

518. Alvarado Lisandro, *Obras completas. T. I. Glosario de voces indígenas de Venezuela.* Caracas, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes, 1953. 422 pp. Alphabetical, mostly names of plants and animals.

Names in Brief

Montana. · The following copy of an interesting document was sent to *Names* by Richard B. Sealock, Librarian of the Public Library of Kansas City and co-editor of the North American place name bibliography. It is a letter of James M. Ashley to Judge William H. Hunt, dated April 28, 1892, and was first published in *The Montana Magazine of History* (Vol. 2, no. 3, July 1952).

My Dear Sir.

I have read your address with much interest. As chairman of the Committee on Territories I prepared and introduced the bills for the organization of the territories of Montana, Arizona, and Wyoming & selected their names. My purpose was to give to each territory a euphonius name and at the same time use a word that should appropriately describe the topography of the country. I therefore selected the Spanish Mexicanized word Montana [*pronounced Montanya*]. Senators Summer of Massachusetts and Howard of Michigan, at first sight objected to the name. When the bill reached the Senate they sent for me to come over and give my reasons for selecting it. I answered, "that the country which it was proposed to organise had been described to me, as being *two thirds* or more mountainous, and that the word Montana, was not only appropriate, but a beautiful name for a State". They both declared that they had never seen the word and as they were the recognized scholarly men of the Senate, they assumed that I must be mistaken. I sent to the Library for an old Mexican Dictionary, which I had consulted, and when I showed them the word—they recognized the authority and approved the name. But for that old Dictionary, some objectionable name might have been fastened on your state, such for instance as that of New Mexico, Washington—or Nevada.

I selected the name "Arizona" because it described the arid plains of that territory and because it was appropriate and euphonius.

I gave the name of Wyoming to that Territory, [instead of Laramie or "Jefferson" which the settlers suggested or demanded] because the Indian word in Pennsylvania stood for "large plains."

The western boundary of Montana was fixed by me, where it is, for a purpose. I intended to organize another territory out of the Idaho-pan-handle, with part of western Montana and eastern Washington. At that time, I intended to call the new territory Columbia—and in the act organizing it, expected to change the name of "Washington", to Tacoma, and the name New Mexico, to "Uinta", and at the same time abolish the territory of Utah, by adding two-thirds of the western part to Nevada and the remaining eastern third to Colorado.

In 1865, I visited all the territories and the Pacific States. It was during that trip, that I saw that the State of Nevada was doomed to be a "rotten borough State" if her Comstock mine "petered out". I then saw that I must not attempt to create the new territory of Columbia, that instead of organizing new territories to become rotten borough States—it was my duty to consolidate them whenever I could do so. And this I attempted by taking territory from Arizona and Utah—larger than

all New England and adding it to the State of Nevada. Yet the territory then added to Nevada—did not keep that state from becoming the most undesirable commonwealth and the most hopelessly rotten borough state in the Union.

I send you by this mail an address delivered by me before the "Ohio Society of New York", which will explain what I mean by rotton borough states.

Gov. Edgerton, was not a member of the Committee on Territories—and I never heard of his having anything to do directly or indirectly with the organization of the territory of Montana, or with fixing its western boundary.

Truly yours

J. M. Ashley

This letter is of great interest to students of U. S. place names, giving a direct evidence of how names got on our maps. At the same time it throws a curious side light upon the learning and logic of our legislators of yesterday. The word *montaña* is, of course, the common Spanish word for mountain, hilly country etc., and no "old Mexican Dictionary" would have been necessary if the scholarly gentleman had asked a person who knew the elements of Spanish. That Arizona describes "the arid plains of that territory" is one of the folk-etymological interpretations which was current before Senator Ashley and which still leads a healthy and persistent life.

Lockwoods Folly, North Carolina. – A few miles west of Cape Fear and the town of Southport there is a break in the coast known as Lockwoods Folly Inlet, while a stream draining to this inlet is called Lockwoods Folly River (both are decisions of the U. S. Board on Geographic Names). The use of the term "folly" is quite common, and in most instances it is applied to some extraordinary house or building, constructed by some wealthy man in the days before income taxes. There is also some slight usage of the word as a generic term for a topographic feature. In this particular instance, the interest lies in the antiquity of the name, and the uncertainty which surrounds its origin.

The North Carolina Guide (Federal Writer's Project) on page 289 devotes a paragraph to this name, stated to have appeared on maps as early as 1671. Lockwood is said to have probably come from Bermuda. The name recalls his foolhardiness in starting a settlement exposed to both sea and Indians, the latter having promptly destroyed it. This is not, however, the traditional origin of the name known to local residents at present. Many of them stated in 1942 that the original Lockwood is supposed to have built a vessel inside the

inlet which was too large to be able to put to sea across the bar and was left to rot away.

Whatever the original "folly" may have been, an English map dated 1676 has Look Wood Folly applied to the inlet, one dated 1696 has Lockwood Folley, and it is Lockwoods Folly an another dated 1777. In view of the fact that this name applies to a feature of relatively slight importance, and that it goes back to within less than fifty years of the original grant of the area south of Virginia by Charles I, it would seem likely that something out of the ordinary must have happened to attract the attention of the earliest makers of maps of the Carolinas.

Lewis Heck

Lou Island. – A river island in Montana has been named Lou Island for Montana's male Land Commissioner, Lou Bretzke, despite Montana custom which provides that all such lands be given a feminine name.

Louise Ackerman

Alles Sumpf. – In the December 1955 issue of *Names* the strange book *Namenforschung als Wissenschaft* was reviewed. In the meantime Dr. Hans Bahlow has published a supplement in which he lists cities in western Germany and maintains that their names contain Celtic roots for swamp: Hannover, 'Sumpfwasser'; Detmold, 'Sumpfwasser'; Schaffhausen, 'Wasser und Sumpfort'; Bern, Eichstätt, Borkum, Essen, Elsass, Antwerpen —— all come from a Celtic root, swamp. How geographical names could be preserved in a country which was nothing but swamp and how the Celtic dialects could develop so many different roots meaning 'swamp' Dr. Bahlow does not say.

Chemical Elements –The article "Naming the Chemical Elements", Vol. I (1953), page 163, has stood in the pages of our journal too long without comment. There can be no objection to the naming of most of the elements, but there are eleven elements that are given names so much at variance with common usage that they must be corrected.

Actual Name	*Name in Article*
Antimony	Stibium
Copper	Cuprum
Gold	Aurum
Iron	Ferrum
Lead	Plumbum
Mercury	Hydrargyrum
Potassium	Kalium
Silver	Argentum
Sodium	Natrium
Tin	Stannum
Tungsten	Wolframium

Only one argument is necessary to show that the designation of "Chemists' Names" for these elements is incorrect – these "Chemists' Names" are never found in chemical literature.

L. F. Hawley

Dunkirk's Zoo. – While driving through Dunkirk, New York, the street signs will certainly come to your attention. Coming into the city limits from the West, on New York state route number 5, the first two signs read innocently enough: Brigham Road and Temple Street. Then comes Mullet Street and it seems appropriate enough for a town on the southeastern shore of Lake Erie to have a street named for a fish. This is followed by Woodrow Street. Next, in rapid succession, you pass streets named "Robin","Plover," "Dove," "Canary," "Swan," "Pelican," "Eagle," and "Lark." After passing these eight birds you are about in the center of town and at Center Street. Lynx Street raises your expectation but a traditional pattern seems to take over: "Washington," "Park," and "Columbus." But then again: "Deer" and "Leopard." Main Street is the last concession to convention. Then you parade past "Beaver," "Zebra," "Gazelle," and "Antelope." "Beagle" is a passing nod to the domesticates. Then you are off into an exotic realm: "Ermine," "Genet," "Lemming", "Armadillo," "Pangolin," "Jerboa," "Martin" (*Progne subis*), "Ocelot," "Serval," "Margay," "Warsaw," "Caracal," and "Zorilla."

"Warsaw" in this company is of interest: if the zoological pattern applies then this refers to a fish (*Epiuephelus nigritus*). There is however a large Polish population here which is reflected

in street names in the younger parts of town -- Stegelski, Pulawski, Kosciuszko -- and Warsaw, located in this section, may conceivably belong to that pattern.

Repeated cursory inquiries did not yield any information as to origin or originator of this namepattern. County and town histories were of no help. This pattern seems quite unique and worthy of further inquiry.

Fritz L. Kramer

Whither Shall My Lady Go? – A barber shop is a barber shop for a man. Its symbol, a stationary or revolving, red-and-white striped pole, has a long tradition which dates from the time when the barber was also a surgeon, in so far as he did cupping and bleeding. Man wends his way to this symbol, or he betakes himself to a hotel where he knows the same facilities await. What he permits to happen to him in the *shop* depends upon his age, taste, financial circumstances and condition of marital servitude. My Lady, however, will not settle for anything less trite than a beauty shop(pe), parlor or salon. When she is in the mood for fancy selection, she may choose between various locations, all prefaced by beauty: academy, balcony, bar, box, chest, clinic, corner, haven, house, kit, lounge, manor, mart, nook, school, studio, terrace and yacht. In her search, she may come upon glo (sic), hairstyling and maid salons; style and charm houses; glamour (sic) cottages and cosmetic studios. Barbering is a personal matter. The skill and manner of the barber, I mean beautician, is never far from My Lady's mind. She is reminded of beauty artists, counsellors, coiffeurs (actually often a coiffeuse), fashioners, modists, stylists, servicers, and so on. If she is feeling old-worldish, she must go to the Salon de Coiffeurs, Salon or Maison de Beaute (without the accent), or simply to some good Coiffeur's Salon. Upon a particular day Beaute Shangri-La, a Charm Beauty College, or a Glamourette Beauty Chest may serve. Then there is Hercules Gift of Cosmetique, the New Look Brownies, the Powder Box, Beautilities and Beauty Factors to be considered. When in a penny-pinching mood or with a feeling for the masses, Philip the Hairdresser, Jayne's for Beauty, a Wave Shop, or the People's Haircutting Salon might attract. Add them all together, they spell barber shop, but -- not for My Lady.

C. Grant Loomis

News, Comments, Queries

Mother Nature "First at Patent Office" is the title of the latest of the little pamphlets which our charter member, Charles M. Goethe, distributes free as a public service. In a series of succinct items he shows that many of our modern inventions were preconceived by Mother Nature eons ago. – In addition to many other services rendered, Mr. and Mrs. Goethe were among the pioneers of the movement to apply the science of genetics to the improvement of the human race. This pioneering is now bearing fruit as shown by the recent congress in Copenhagen, devoted to human genetics.

Comstock Mine Names is the title of a series of articles published by our member, Helen Swisher Carlson in the *Reno Evening Gazette*. The Comstock lode in Nevada is probably the best known and historically most interesting mining region in the United States and Mrs. Carlson had done an excellent job in tracing the application of names to the numerous mines located in the district. The author is continuing her studies of Nevada place names.

Jewish Names in U. S. – I have been puzzled for some years at the frequency of use of the "Anglo-Saxon" names, Milton, Irving, Murray, Morris, Bernard and perhaps others that I do not think of at the moment, as given names by Jewish people in the United States. Is there any explanation? James MacClamroch.

Indian Names in Canada. – No. 12 of *Onomastica*, edited by our vice president J. B. Rudnyckyj, bears the title "Indian, Pseudo-Indian Place Names in the Canadian West." It is an interesting account by C. Meredith Jones, dedicated to Albert Dauzat.

In Honor of Dr. Schönfeld. – The third and fourth issues of the 1955 volume of *Mededelingen* was published in honor of Dr. W. Schönfeld at the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. Schönfeld is one of the outstanding scholars in our field and the author of the standard work, *Historische Grammatica van het Nederlands.*

Onomastica is the title of the latest newcomer in the field of name research. Its sub-title is *Pismo Poświęcone Nazewnictwu Geograficznemu I Osobowemu.* It appears twice a year and is published in Wrocław, pl. Solny 11, Poland.

Book Reviews

Ortsumbenennungen und -neugründungen im europäischen Teil der Sowjet-Union. By Wolfgang Meckelein. (Ost-Europa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin. Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, herausgegeben von Karl C. Thalheim. Band 2. Berlin, 1955. In Kommission bei Duncker & Humblot, Berlin. 134 p. with a map.)

The change of place names on a larger scale seems to be one of the characteristics of totalitarian way of life. In the Soviet Union, the change of geographical names has been practiced since 1917. Not only the names of big cities were substituted by new ones, e. g. *Petrograd – Leningrad*, *Caricyn – Stalingrad*, but also the small settlements or newly founded ones received "patriotic" names, e. g. *Svisloch – Oktyabr* (BSSR), *Kukarka – Sovetsk* (Kirov oblast'), *Bozhedarovka – Shchors* (USSR) a. o. To date, there had been no reference work in any western language where all such changes could be found and elucidated. The book under review fills a gap in this field. Meckelein lists 1363 names of the European part of the Soviet Union according to their original form in 1910 and changes as recorded in 1938, 1951, and 1953. His work is based on official Soviet publications, maps and other sources. All names have been presented in an international Slavistic transliteration of the Russian alphabet. A map illustrating the location and the historical data of the respective name has been added. A valuable bibliography supplements the book.

Meckelein did not publish his work for the onomatologist but for the general user. It is merely practical in purpose. The reviewer has checked its contents with his materials regarding the changes of place names in Ukraine. A number of names are not included in Meckelein's book, e. g. *Zhovkva* (*-Nesterov*), *Drohovyzhe*, *Jezupol*, and others. Some very important works have been omitted in the bibliography, e. g. *Ortsnamenverzeichnis der Ukraine*, Berlin 1943. Crimea and the Transcarpathian territory (Carpatho-Ukraine) have not been treated in the book.

Despite some shortcomings *Ortsumbenennungen* will serve as a point of departure for all future studies of the subject so far as the European part of USSR is concerned.

University of Manitoba J. B. Rudnyckyj

Gazetteer of Canada. Manitoba. (Published by authority of the Canadian Board on Geographical Names. Ottawa, 1955. 60 p. with map.)

Though Canada is claimed to be a "last" one among the countries cultivating the study of names (cf. Fucilla in *Names*, Vol. 2, 205) the publications of the Canadian Board on Geographical Names (formerly: The Geographic Board of Canada) as well as the series *Onomastica* published twice a year by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences – UVAN in Winnipeg seem to improve the situation. The recent volume of the *Gazetteer of Canada* is the third one of the series (after those devoted to Southern Ontario and British Columbia). Manitoba Gazetteer contains the names of all populated places and the names of the rivers, creeks, lakes, hills, and other topographical features of this province. The location of each item has been listed by the quadrilateral indexing system used in the previous issues. Some errors in the spelling of names could have been prevented by checking official publications of the Post Office, Canadian National Railway, and others (e. g. *Ukrania* instead of the generally accepted: *Ukraina*, even confirmed by the Board itself in previous publications). It is also regrettable that the origin and meaning of names has been disregarded.

University of Manitoba J. B. Rudnyckyj

Quatrième Congrès International de Sciences Onomastiques: Uppsala, 1952. Édité par Jöran Sahlgren, Bengt Hasselrot et Lars Hellberg. (Vol. I: Programme. Deuxiéme Edition. Uppsala, AB Lundequistska Bokhandeln, København, Rosenkilde og Baggers Forlag, 1954. Pp. 544.)

At the Fourth International Convention of Onomastic Sciences held at Uppsala, August 17–21, 1952, forty six papers were presented by delegates from eighteen different countries. With three exceptions all are published in the present volume.

As is customary at many gatherings with such a wide representation, the readers of the papers were volunteers. These were not submitted beforehand so as to make feasible any coordinated grouping nor was their suitability for oral presentation taken into account. Papers like Professor Buescu's "Un nouveau toponyme latin du défrichement en Roumanie," on the place-name Secătura and its

variants, or Professor Collinder's investigation bearing on the Swedish place-name Luleå are of such extremely limited range that they could hardly have aroused any interest in the hearers. One wonders, too, how audiences kept from being lulled to sleep by the interminable listing of names in Professor Baudot's paper on place-name suffixes in France, "Apports de la toponymie à l'histoire des civilisations et des migrations de peuples," Professor Nissilä's "Einige niederdeutsche Personennamen in Finnland," Professor Séguy's "Noms de métiers dans l'onomastique toulousaine au XIVe et au XXe siècles," and, especially, Professor Griera's "Les *Rationes Decimarum*, sources de valeur considérable pour l'étude de la toponymie." Only when put in print does the element of monotony in them tend to diminish, making it possible to assess their true value. Anomalies of this sort are perhaps inevitable. To a certain extent they are condonable if we concede that the fundamental purpose of an international congress is after all to bring together scholars with kindred research interests. However, the majority of the other numbers by virtue of their treatment and subject-matter turned out to be generally attractive, among which, to mention a few that have particularly appealed to me, are A. Badia-Margarit's "Toponymie et histoire dans le Chemin de Saint Jacques en Espagne"; Z. F. Findikoğlu's "Le problème des noms de famille consideré comme un courant culturel en Turquie"; E. Kranzmayer's "Die slawischen und die romanischen Ortsnamen Österreichs"; C. Higounet's, "Les mouvements de population dans le midi de la France du XIe au XVe siècle d'après les noms de personne et les noms de lieu;" J. M. Piel's "Blüte und Verfall der westgotisch-hispanischen Personennamen." A. Caferoğlu's "Le culte du cheval dans l'onomastique turque" makes enjoyable reading and it must have been equally enjoyable to those who listened to it.

What strikes one forcibly in covering the *Mémoires* of the conference is the fact that the science of onomastics is rarely an isolated phenomenon. The materials which it discusses automatically transform themselves into historical or geographical contributions that are often of considerable consequence.

Northwestern University Joseph G. Fucilla

Maine Place Names and the Peopling of its Towns. By Ava Harriet Chadbourne. (The Bond Wheelwright Company, Portland, Maine, 1955, 530 pages, $ 7.50.)

This is a noteworthy contribution to the history of our easternmost state. It is an excellent example of sound historical research based on geographical names. To be sure, the author, professor emeritus of Education, has not restricted herself to the origin and meaning of place names. As the subtitle indicates she writes the history of the "peopling" of the towns of Maine – not merely a dictionary of geographical names. For this reason the title is perhaps not so well chosen. Ordinarily we would expect an alphabetical reference book of all geographic features when the title indicates that the volume treats the "place names" of a certain state. That, however, is a minor point, which should not detract from the value and interest of the book.

The first lines of the "Forward", in which Professor Chadbourne refers to Stephen Benet's well-known lines:

I have fallen in love with American names,
The sharp gaunt names, which never grow fat

are followed by a paragraph worth quoting verbatim:

I too have fallen in love with American names, especially those in the State of Maine, but I do not find them sharp, gaunt and thin, for often when I look down upon the map of Maine, I feel that I am turning the leaves of a Book of Remembrance; for here are Indian words, rich in meaning, colorful and reminiscent of a bygone day; French, English, Irish, German, Scotch and Swedish words, revealing important records of human history, migrations and settlements, as well as expressing the love and longing of the early Maine colonists for their faraway homes.

Elisabeth K. Gudde

Bulletin Signalétique: Philosophie, Sciences Humaines. (Paris: Centre de Documentation du C. N. R. S., vol. X, No. 1, 1956.)

This reference work is a continuation of the *Bulletin Analytique* which was reviewed in *Names* of September 1955 (pp. 195f). The format has been enlarged (ca. 8×10″) with double columns. There is great unevenness in the treatment of the various subjects. Most of them are on an international basis, with contributions in all

languages listed – a preponderance of the literature in French, to be sure. Others are almost exclusively restricted to books and articles written in the French language. Our field of name research is one of these step-children, at least in this particular issue. In the section "*Onomastique*" forty-four items are listed, together with a few references to works in other sections. Of these forty-four items two refer to articles in German, three to French reviews of German books or articles, one to a French review of an English book, one to an American contribution. Of periodicals in onomatology only the *Revue International d'Onomastique* is indexed. The name of our departed colleague Albert Dauzat, appears in the index no less than eleven times as author – a clear indication of the loss to our field of study by the sudden death of the great scholar.

* * *

After the above was written No. 2 of the 1956 volume of the *Bulletin* was received. It is fortunate that I said cautiously "at least in this particular issue," for the section "Onomastique" in this second number has a decided international aspect. Among other non-French literature, six articles, one book review, one note, and even the popular column "Your Name", published in *Names* during 1955, are reviewed. It is not quite clear on what basis this selection was made. However, the inclusion of some material from *Names* means a step toward the goal of an international index.

Erwin G. Gudde

CHILDERS

Childers is one of those perplexing names that seem to defy elucidation until some one comes along with a neat explanation and then it seems so simple. And no one yet (including Elsdon C. Smith) has been able to submit a complete and satisfying interpretation. The name probably has two origins. First, it may refer to the descendant of *Chilbert* ('cauldron', 'bright'); secondly, it may be a contraction of childer-house, thus designating one who operated or lived in or near such a house. *Childer* is an old plural of child. A *child* was an attendant, a young man or young knight, usually a well-bred youth of the upper classes. A childerhouse might thus be the place where more than one noble youth resided.

HAMMON

This is an English name more commonly found as Hammond, Hammonds or Hammons. The *d* is excrescent. It refers to the descendant of Hamo or Hamon, from Old German *Haimo*, 'house' or 'home'. As a given name it was introduced into England by the Normans and became quite popular,and has not entirely disappeared today. It is thus most common in the southeastern and eastern coast counties of England, although many are found in the vicinity of the Welsh border. Shakespeare named his only son Hamnet which is the same name with a diminutive ending. In some instances this name is a corruption of the Germanic *Heahmund*, meaning 'chief, protector'.

PEARCE

This name refers to the son of Peter (rock), coming directly from the Old French form *Piers*, which was introduced into England at the time of the Norman Conquest. Some variants of this name are Pierce, Peirce, Pearse and Pears. But to set out all the surnames derived from the Biblical Peter would take a great deal of space, since Peter, in its various national forms, was common in all countries where the Bible was revered. Although this name is found all over England, it is most frequent in Cornwall, Devon,

Somerset and Gloucestershire, in the Southwest of England, in Kent in the Southeast and in Yorkshire in the North.

RUDNYCKYJ

Rudnyćkyj (pronunciation: (roodnits^{i}kiy) is a Ukrainian form of the Slavic surname which appears in Russian as *Rudnickiy*, in Polish as*Rudnicki*, in Czech as*Roudnicky*. It is an adjectival derivation from the place names: *Rudnyk*, *Rudnyky*, *Rudnyća* etc., preserving an Indoeuropean root '*roudh-* 'red, blond', cf., Latin *rūfus*, Lithuanian *raūdas*, German *rot*, English *red*, etc. The place names with this root are usually transferred from the names of rivers upon which the settlements were located ('Red River'). There are two possiblities for the explanation of *Rudnyćkyj*, *Rudnicki*, etc.: '*a man coming from Rudnyk* (*Rudnyky*, *Rudnyća*)' (the most common cases) and '*a man to whom Rudnyk* (*Rudnyky*, *Rudnyća*) *belongs*, *a nobleman who is owner of Rudnyk*'. In medieval Latin documents the Slavic forms were often described with the preposition *de*, viz. *de Rudnyk* (Rudnyćkyj). In America there are many deformations of the surname the most popular being *Rudnick*; other forms: *Rudneski*, *Rudnesk*, *Rudniki*, *Rudnisk*, *Rudnychyj*, etc. Some of them had been derived from other place names as named above, e. g. *Rudenškyj* from *Rudno*, *Rudnyanski* from *Rudnya*, *Rudecki* from *Rudki*, *Rucki* (*Rudski*) from *Ruda*, *Rudy*, *Rudavśkyj* from *Rudava*, *Rudkowski* from *Rudkow*. An excellent manual for these place names is Fr. Miklosich's: *Die Bildung der Slavischen Personen- und Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg, 1927, C. Winter Universitätsverlag.

WOLFESCHLEGELSTEINHAUSENBERGERDORFF

In some languages, like German, Greek, Welsh, the habit still exists of compounding various elements into one single noun – a habit which no longer prevails in modern English. Such formidable looking nouns appear less frightening when one knows how to break them up into their original components. Hence the name of our new member simply means Mr. Woolfslayer who lives in the stone house in Bergerdorff.

WOODS

As England is dotted with small woods, forests or groves, it is to be expected that people who live near or by them would be so named. Also people who dwelt within a dense growth of trees would be so described. Indeed, it would be surprising if Woods were not a very popular English surname. The name is found both in the singular as Wood, the more common English form, and with an excrescent *s* as Woods, the latter being possibly easier to pronounce. Wood is most frequent in Yorkshire, Cheshire and the northern midland counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and Leicestershire, and is also scattered throughout Scotland.

★ ★ ★

Alaska Names. – I have retained the native names of geographical points wherever I could learn them. In my opinion this should always be studied. The Indian names of mountains, lakes, and rivers are natural land-marks for the traveler, whoever he may be; to destroy these by substituting words of a foreign tongue is to destroy the natural guides. You ask for some point and mention its native name; your Indian guide will take you there. Ask for the same place in your substituted English word and you will not be understood. Traveling in Alaska has already sufficient difficulties, and they ought not to be increased by changing all the picturesque Indian names. Another very good reason why these native names should be preserved is that some tradition of tribal importance is always connected with them. These people have no written language, but the retention of their native names is an excellent medium through which to learn their history. (E. J. Glaves, "Our Alaska Expedition", in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 22, 1890.)

Editor's Page

Topographic Generics is the first instalment of a fundamental essay on generic names used in the geography of the United States. Our former president, for many years executive secretary of the U. S. Board on Geographic Names, is in a rather unique position to write such an article.

Our charter member and frequent contributor, Jack Dabbs, of the Texas A & M College, is represented twice in the current issue. His article is the elaboration of a paper read at our 1954 meeting in New York. His Latin American bibliography brings the subject up to and including 1955. The completed bibliography will be indispensable to all students of toponymy south of the Rio Grande. See *Names*, December 1953 and September 1954.

Audrey R. Duckert's article is a study in place name euphemism and brings into focus an interesting American generic place name. The essence of the article was read at our New York meeting in 1954. The author is on the editorial staff of the G. & C. Merriam Company.

It is to be hoped that Professor Rogers' article will be an incentive for others to undertake similar regional studies. The frequency or infrequency of Indian geographical names in certain regions and the reasons for it are most significant for our national history. P. Burwell Rogers is professor of English at Bucknell University.

The article by Elsdon C. Smith, our former president, was written in response to an inquiry in the March, 1956, issue of *Names*.

Nick names and slang names are definitely a phase of our study. In fact such names have played a more important role in the historical development of names than many people realize. Hence our readers will welcome the article by our charter member and frequent contributor, C. Grant Loomis, giving references to recent American literature of the many terms used for what we properly call money, currency or cash.

ANS Notes

Fifth Annual Meeting ANS

Washington, D. C.

Wednesday Evening, December 26, 6 P. M.

Dinner meeting in the Burgundy Room, Burlington Hotel, 1120 Vermont Avenue. Address: "Meaningful Fictive Names in English Literature," by the president of the Society, Kemp Malone, Professor emeritus, Johns Hopkins University; director of English Language Program, Ankara, Turkey. Price $3.08, including gratuities and tax. Please send reservations to Professor John G. Allee, Jr., George Washington University, Washington 6, D. C. Reservations should be made by December 23rd.

Thursday, December 27, 9:15–10:45 A. M.

Pan American Room, Hotel Statler

1. "The New England Cobbler," Audrey R. Duckert, G. & C. Merriam Company.
2. "Place Names in Southern Attica," John H. Young, John Hopkins University.
3. "The Name Bristol," C. L. Wrenn, University of Florida.
4. "Topographic Terms in the Lower Florida Keys," E. Wallace McMullen, U.S. Department of Defense.
5. "Linguistic Geography and Place Name Research," Raven I. McDavid, Western Reserve University.
6. "Conclusions from a Study of 2800 Ohio Stream Names," H. F. Raup, Kent Ohio State University.
7. "A Suggested Program of State Gazetteers," Meredith F. Burrill, U. S. Board on Geographic Names.
8. Business Meeting. Reports of the Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, the President; other reports.

Thursday, December 27, 12:30–1:30 P. M.

Pan American Room, Hotel Statler

1. "Popular Names for Urban Areas," L. J. Davidson, University of Denver.
2. "Some Kentucky Names," Louise Hanley, University of Wisconsin, Wausau Center.
3. "The Identification of the *Nuithones*," Allan H. Orrick, University of Indiana.
4. "Structural Changes in American and Canadian Slavic Surnames," J. B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba.
5. "Popular Spanish Names in the 16th Century," J. A. Dabbs, A. and M. College of Texas.
6. "Names in Proverbs," Paul Straubinger, University of California, Riverside.
7. Announcements.

Program Committee

Margaret M. Bryant, Brooklyn College; John G. Mutziger, U.S. Board on Geographic Names.

AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY

Founded Detroit, Michigan, December 29th, 1951

Incorporated under the Laws of the State of Illinois, 1952

The purposes of the American Name Society are:

The study of the etymology, origin, meaning, and application of all categories of names – geographical, personal, scientific, commercial, popular – and the dissemination of the result of such study;

to make the American people conscious of the interest and importance of names in all fields of human endeavor and in all subjects taught in our schools and colleges;

to act as a clearing house for American nomenclature and as an advisory agency for government offices, organizations, and individuals concerned with the application, changing, spelling, and pronunciation of names. The media to attain these purposes will be:

The publication of a quarterly devoted to the study of names; the publication of books and monographs in the fields of onomastics, and the support and encouragement of such publications;

the eventual publication of standard reference dictionaries in the various categories of names;

contributions to the daily press and popular lectures on the subject by members of the Society;

annual national and, if there is sufficient interest, regional meetings of the Society.

The annual dues for active and library members are $ 5.00; for sustaining members $ 25.00. An individual or an organization may become a patron of the Society by a single payment of $ 1,000.00. Membership includes the privilege of purchasing at cost books and pamphlets published by the Society.

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The Name *Alaska*

GEORGE R. STEWART

The Territory of Alaska – destined soon, we all hope, to become a state – possesses in its name a heritage equaling in the interest of its historical development even such unusual state names as California, Oregon, and Vermont.

Dall gives Alaska as derived from an Aleut root meaning "a great country or continent." (W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, 1870, page 529–530). Baker states that the name is "a corruption of some native word or phrase, the meaning of which is uncertain." (Marcus Baker, *Geographic Dictionary of Alaska*, Second Edition, 1906, page 89.) The *Handbook of American Indians* (Ed. F. W. Hodge, 1907–10, under entry *Alaskaite*) cites Dall to the effect that the name signifies "mainland." *A Guide to Alaska* (Merle Colby, Ed., 1939, page 332) states somewhat vaguely, "*al-ay-ek-sha* is supposed to mean 'mainland,' and even today Natives of the Shumagins are reported as saying, when they intend to cross over to the peninsula, 'I am going to Alaska' (i. e., the mainland)." Ransom meticulously analyses the word in Aleut, and arrives at the conclusion that it means "mainland." (J. Ellis Ransom, *American Anthropologist*, N. S. vol. xlii, July–September 1940, pages 550–1). Linguistic arguments, therefore, seem to favor the acceptance of "mainland," or "continent."

From an onomastic point of view this meaning is acceptable. Where islands lie off the coast, some such generic term is likely to be applied, and this sometimes hardens into a true place name, especially when a shift of language is involved. The Greek name Epirus is thus to be explained, and probably Maine in the United States.[1]

[1] Although I am ready to accept the conclusions of such competent authorities as Dall and Ransom, I would feel more comfortable if a better explanation of the name Unalaska could be produced. This seems to contain the same root as Alaska,

In popular usage, Alaska is frequently said to mean the "big country," or the "great land." These might be thought to be merely somewhat fanciful interpretations of "mainland." More likely, however, they are independently derived, and the historical background calls for brief presentation.

Having reached eastern Siberia, the Russians began to hear of a "great land," lying across the sea still farther to the east. Such reports were being collected as early as 1711 (H. H. Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, 1886, pages 26–27). The Russian words used are simply *bolshaya zemlya*, from which there is no possibility of deriving Alaska. The informants of the Russians were of the local Chukchi tribe. As far as I have been able to discover, the Chukchi words which the Russians translated as *bolshaya zemlya* have not been preserved. There is, therefore, no reason to think that they were anything that sounded like Alaska. Moreover, the Russian advance and the resulting establishment of the name occurred, not from the Chukchi country, but from the Aleutian Islands. There is, therefore, every reason to reject any derivation of the name from the Chukchi source, and accordingly the literal meaning "great land."

*

The Russian use of the name Alaska begins about 1760, in connection with some voyages recorded in the anonymous German work *Neue Nachrichten von denen neuentdekten Insuln* (1776). Here we read (page 53) of an island "Alaeksu" or "Alachschak." Again (page 56) we have "Alaesku," described as an island close to the mainland, but not the mainland. "Alaeksu" is more definitely described and located (page 115) as the large island lying north of Kadjak. Since Kadjak is undoubtedly to be identified with the modern Kodiak, Afognak Island might fill the requirements. But Afognak, though some fifty miles across, is much smaller than Kodiak itself, and is separated from the larger island by only a narrow channel. It would seem, then, scarcely to warrant the description. There is, moreover, nothing else to indicate that the name Alaska was ever applied to Afognak. Much more likely, the German writer erred in assuming that Alaeksu was an island.

and yet is an island. Dall (*loc. cit.*) explains it as being "the land near Aláyeksa." But this is geographically unsatisfactory, since Unalaska is several islands removed from being the closest one to the mainland.

Probably it was what is now known as the Alaska Peninsula, the base of which lies north of Kodiak. This is the particular region to which the name Alaska was certainly applied in slightly later times.

Coxe (William Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, 1780), describing voyages of the seventeen-sixties, refers to the island "Alaksu, or Alachshak" (page 65), and also of another island "Alaxa" (page 254, 345), but also states (page 65, note) that the two are probably the same. In this connection his map of Krenitzen's and Levasheff's voyage (inserted at page 251) is of interest. This shows Alaxa as an island lying northeast of Unimak, from which it is separated by a narrow channel. Since Unimak is the island closest to the mainland, this would indicate definitely that Alaxa was part of the mainland, though the Russians and Coxe, with their limited geographical horizon, assumed it to be another island.

On what is generally known as Staehlin's map (included in J. Von Staehlin, *An Account of the New Northern Archipelago*, English edition, 1774.) Alaschka appears as a large island extending east and west in Latitude 65°. Captain Cook on his voyage of 1778 hunted conscientiously for this island, but naturally was unable to find it. (*A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, 1785, vol. ii, page 474.)

Cook's findings, or lack of findings, led Coxe to a new statement in the revision of his work published in 1787 as *A Comparative View of the Russian Discoveries*: "Alaxa, called sometimes Alaxsu, Alachshak and Alashka, ...supposed to be a great island in the vicinity of America, was found by Cook to be a promontory of that Continent." (page 15.)

After this time, since there was no island to which it could be applied, Alaska came to be generally used for what is now known as the Alaska Peninsula, which we must believe, indeed, to have been its original application. Such usage merely reflected geographical actualities and the local manner of speech among the Russians and Aleuts. Cook had noticed this custom, as he reported, "I have already observed, that the American continent is here called, by the Russians, as well as the islanders, Alaschka; which name, though it probably belong only to the country adjoining to Oonemak, is used by them in speaking of the American continent in general, which they know perfectly well to be a great land." (Cook, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, page 504).

Because of Cook's great prestige, his observation that Alaschka was sometimes used to refer to the continent was of importance in determining the later history of the name. His reference to "a great land" may be an echo of the earlier usage already mentioned.

In general, from Cook's time to that of the American occupation was a period of quiescence. Russian America was officially established as the name for the whole territory, and Alaska was thus more definitely than ever restricted to the peninsula.

An interesting irony exists in connection with Cook's use of the name. As his own words seem to indicate, he was – not unnaturally – somewhat irritated at having been forced to look for a nonexistent island, and he apparently resented the application of the name to the "continent in general," doubtless thinking that it should merely be called North America. Yet this passage was later to be quoted (see below) as authority for the wider application. Moreover, though Cook always used the spelling Alaschka, he was to be cited as the authority for Alaska (see below).

In reading pre-1867 works, one must be on guard against assuming that Alaska, however spelled, is to be taken in its modern sense. Kotzebue, for instance, once refers to "the islands lying to the north of Alaska." (Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*, English translation, 1821, vol. ii, page 164). Since there are no such islands, if the name is conceived in the modern sense, and since Kotzebue had no idea that there were any such, the reference here must be to the islands of Bering Sea, which may be said to lie to the north of the Alaska Peninsula. Again, Kotzebue refers to "the continent of Alaschka," (*op. cit.*, vol ii, page 185). An analysis of the passage, however, seems to indicate that he is again referring to the peninsula, though the language (at least in the translation) is not very clear.

The legend "Probincia [sic] de Alaska" on a Spanish map of 1791 is unique in its implication that the name could be applied to a region or province. Since this map exists only in manuscript, it cannot have been of any important influence. (See H. R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America*, 1937, vol. ii, pages 372, 355).

During this whole period, except as a local name, Alaska definitely was given the cold shoulder by geographers. To them the whole area was simply a part of the American continent, and the

use of any other name undoubtedly seemed to them to be giving encouragement to such myths as that of the large island of Alaska, laboriously exploded by Cook[2].

One accomplishment of the early nineteenth century was the simplification of the spelling. Before 1800, as our citations sufficiently demonstrate, almost any kind of spelling is to be expected. By 1850 the variants have been reduced to Alaska and Aliaska – at least in an English-language context. Of these, the former was more common.

Map-makers placed the name on the peninsula, but often wrote the name alone, as if it indicated not a geographical feature but a district. Thus, for instance, it appears, in *Mitchell's Modern Atlas*, published in Philadelphia, in 1866, and therefore a really up-to-date map at the time of the purchase.

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In 1867 the situation was suddenly changed. In that year, as every schoolboy may be expected to know, "the United States purchased Alaska." Actually, this is a far from accurate statement. The United States purchased Alaska only because it happened to be a small part of the whole area. What was really purchased was Russian America.

Even this term was not used in the treaty, but in that document the real estate to be transferred was described only as "all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said majesty [the Emperor of all the Russias] on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands."

At this point a problem arose. The United States purchased Russian America, but by that very transaction the territory in question ceased to be Russian America. A new name, therefore, was necessary.

A period of uncertainty and transition ensued, covering much of 1867. The process can be traced in the pages of the *Alta California*, a leading journal of San Francisco, a city much concerned with the new purchase. Interest began to display itself with editorials on

[2] In this connection, it might be noted that voyagers in this area regularly referred to the natives (whether Eskimos, Aleuts, or Indians) as Americans. This sometimes produces a startling effect for the modern American reader.

April 3 and 4; both referred to "Russian America," with no mention of any other name. On April 8 an editorial referred to "the peninsula of Alaska," thus indicating that the name was still so restricted. On April 11, came the first fumbling for a new name, in the words, "Russian America – we shall call it the Territory of Alexander." The use of this last name is an interesting indication of the popularity of the czar on account of his support of the United States during the Civil War. The *Alta*, however, reverted to its earlier usage, without question, until June 3, when doubt was again expressed by the insertion after Russian America of the words "(or what shall we call it?)"

June 17 saw the first use of Alaska as a general name, with an editorial entitled "Alaska minerals." In the editorial itself, both Russian America and Alaska were used. June 27 provided the utmost confusion when Alaska was used in the title of an article in the body of which occurred the words "that portion of the Northwest Coast, or Russian American possessions." July 4 saw another mention of Alaska, only to be followed on July 7, by Russian America. This last, however, seems to have been the final use of the old term, and on July 10 there is a definite reference to the "new Territory of Alaska." From here on, the use of Alaska is regular.

To complete the story, however, one should include from the issue of July 21 the words, "our new territorial acquisition of Alaska, or as it is now sometimes called, Walrussia." This last was the coinage of some wit, and had wide humorous circulation at the time. Needless to say, it should not be taken seriously as a proposed name for the new territory.

The New York *Times* moved more rapidly. On May 3 it offered a heading, "Notes on Alaska." From that time on, it seems regularly to have used that name. This difference in usage probably indicates that the new form was accepted sooner in the East than in the West.

Official adoption of the new name lagged behind its use in the newspapers. President Johnson, in his message to the Congress on July 6 gave no name at all. Already, however, various names had been proposed in governmental circles, and at least three official sponsors must be considered.

1. *Seward.* In the biography of William H. Seward by his son (F. W. Seward, *Seward at Washington*, 1891, page 369) the state-

ment appears that various names had been suggested – Sitka, Yukon, Aliaska, Alaska, Oonalaska, Aleutia,[3] but that "Seward, with whom the final decision rested, preferred Alaska," as being "brief, euphonious, and suitable."

There is nothing inherently unlikely in Seward's having proposed the name, but this claim of a son-biographer presented twenty-four years later is not supported by citation of contemporary documents, and I have come across none which would indicate that Seward was the proposer of the name. That neither Sumner nor Halleck (see below) gives any acknowledgment to Seward would indicate the contrary.

In any case the statement that the "final decision" rested with Seward must be challenged. Although he had negotiated the treaty, there is nothing in the history of the time to indicate that the Secretary of State had any authority at all, much less the "final decision", as to the name of a new territory. During the whole decade of the sixties Congress was very active in establishing the names of territories. The case for Seward, though possible, cannot be shown to rest on contemporary evidence.

2. *Sumner.* The claims of Senator Charles Sumner as the proposer of the name are extremely strong. Sumner was informed of the impending purchase on March 29, 1867, shortly before the signing of the treaty. As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he supported ratification, and on April 9 he spoke "on the negotiation, its origin, and the character of the ceded possessions," (*Works of Charles Sumner*, vol. xi, 1877, page 184). If we knew what he said on that occasion, the matter might be definitely settled. Unfortunately the Senate was then in Executive Session; no reporters were present, and the actual speech is not preserved. As the passage continues: "Senators interested in the question invited Mr. Sumner to write out his remarks and give them to the public. For some time he hesitated, but, taking ad-

[3] Aside from this passage I have not come across these suggestions, except that Yukon Territory seems to be implied, though not definitely suggested, by its use in Dall's work, which he actually called *Alaska and its Resources*. The sources of these names are obvious. Oonalaska was better known than other names of the region because of its use in Thomas Campbell's famous line of *The Pleasures of Hope*: "The wolf's long howl from Oonalaska's shore." (As Sumner was keen enough to point out, the wolf is actually not found in the Aleutians.)

vantage of the vacation, he applied himself to the work, following precisely in order and subdivision the notes on a single page from which he spoke." The result was the well-known document *The Cession of Russian America to the United States*, sub-titled, *Speech in the Senate, ... April 9, 1867.*

But this so-called speech is really a long and learned monograph running to 164 pages in the *Works*, and based upon practically all the known publications about Russian America. Even with good secretarial help, a busy senator could not have completed so much research in ten days. The speech could not possibly have been delivered from one page of notes, and the amount of business transacted by the Senate that day shows that the Senators could not also have listened through the three or four hours which Sumner would have required to deliver his oration.

The point of discussing the matter is that the printed version contains a passage which is worth quoting *in extenso*, both as an example of thought about names at the time and as a suggestion of the name Alaska:

> As these extensive possessions, ... pass from the imperial government of Russia, they will naturally receive a new name. They will be no longer Russian America. How shall they be called? Clearly, any name borrowed from classical antiquity or from individual invention will be little better than misnomer or nickname unworthy of the historic occasion. Even if taken from our own annals, it will be of doubtful taste. The name should come from the country itself. It should be indigenous, aboriginal, one of the autochthons of the soil. Happily such a name exists, as proper in sound as in origin. It appears from the report of Cook, ... that the euphonious designation now applied to the peninsula ... was the sole word used originally by the native islanders, "when speaking of the American continent in general, which they knew perfectly well to be a great land." It only remains, that, following these natives, whose places are now ours, we, too, should call this "great land" Alaska. (*op. cit.*, page 347)

In commenting on this passage we must cast some aspersions on Senator Sumner's much-vaunted scholarship. Not only does he write "knew" for "know", but also in his note he gets the page-reference wrong. Moreover, he at least implies that Cook used Alaska, whereas Cook spelled it Alaschka.

All caviling aside, Sumner's case is very strong, even if he did not write the passage until shortly before its publication on May 25. In any case, since copies of his "speech" circulated widely, he must have exercized a great influence in establishing the use of the name.

A year later, on May 8, 1868, Sumner wrote a letter to "Hon. Hiram Barney," in which he again discussed the name, chiefly in relation to the other form, Aliaska. He stated, in part (*op. cit.*, page 348, note):

> Looking for a name, my attention was arrested by the designation of the promontory stretching to the Aleutian Islands, called by Captain Cook, the first Englishman who visited the region, Alaska, without an *i*, as the large and neighboring island was called *Oonalaska*. This is the first time, so far as I am aware, that the name appears. Though at a later day it was sometimes written 'Aliaska,' it seemed to me that the earlier designation was historically more just, while in itself a better word. On this account, at the close of my speech I ventured to propose it as a name for the whole country.

Again some inaccuracies are to be noted. Sumner, having cited Coxe in his "speech," should have known that Cook was not the first to use the name. Moreover, Sumner here definitely but incorrectly cites Cook as having used the spelling Alaska. Sumner's words, "at the close of my speech," do not really change the situation. Though "close" may seem more fitted to oral than to written presentation, Sumner was thinking in terms of what was being generally called a "speech." Besides, after the lapse of a year, he might well have forgotten.

Of even more interest is the final paragraph of this letter:

> While I was doing this [i. e., proposing the name] in Washington, General Halleck, in San Francisco, was writing an elaborate letter to the Government about the new territory, in which he proposed the same name, with, as I understand, the same spelling.

This brings us to the third claimant.

3. *Halleck.* Major General H. W. ("Old Brains") Halleck had been Chief of Staff during the Civil War, and in 1867 commanded the Military Division of the Pacific. On May 22 of that year, he wrote from his headquarters in San Francisco to Brevet Major General E. D. Townsend in the Adjutant General's Office a long letter (See 40th Cong., 2 Sess., H. R. Ex. Doc. No. 117, pages 57–58) containing the interesting passage:

> I learn from Colonel Bulkley, and find his statements confirmed by the printed reports of earlier explorers, that the word "Alaska" is applied by the natives and Russians to most of the ceded territory, usually called by us "Russian America." ... It is understood that the term Alaska (erroneously written in some recent maps *Aliaska*, which letters do not properly represent the sound of the word) is used by the natives and Russian settlers to include or apply to all the Russian possessions on the American continent.
>
> I therefore respectfully recommend that this name "*Alaska*" be employed to designate the military district or department which may be organized there, and also the civil territorial government, should one be organized by Congress for that country. Other terms have been proposed in newspaper articles, but they do not seem to me as appropriate as this word.

The letter calls for some comment. C. S. Bulkley, Engineer-in-Chief of the Western Union explorations in Canada and Russian America, was in a position to know what he was talking about, but I have found nothing else to suggest the usage of Alaska which he here indicates. By "earlier explorers" Halleck doubtless means Cook. I have found no others who might be quoted to the same effect. Halleck himself runs into inconsistency by first writing that "most of the ceded territory" is so called, and in the same paragraph that the name is applied "to all the Russian possessions."

Such small matters aside, one should note that Halleck seems in ignorance that Sumner had suggested Alaska. If Sumner had actually been advocating the name since April 9, we should expect that some word of it would have come to Halleck through the newspapers or by other means.

Not only was Halleck a prominent figure, but also he was in a strategic position as commanding general of the Division of which Alaska was to be a part. His letter could hardly have been ignored.

Finally it is of interest that Sumner – not a man addicted to excessive self-effacement – gives a kind of equal credit to Halleck. This is a strong argument against Sumner's having included the name-passage in his actual speech, which antedated Halleck's letter by six weeks. On the other hand, the dates of the letter (May 22) and of the publication day of the "speech" (May 25) are almost the same.

However the name may have been suggested, no act was passed at this time to set up a new territory officially. And so there was

no definite authorization of a new name. Alaska seems to have established itself gradually. In a letter of October 26, O. H. Browning, Secretary of the Interior, used both "territory of Alaska," and "Russian purchase." Two days later, Seward used the simple "Alaska" in a letter to General Grant, then Secretary of War. Scattered references to Alaska can be found in official correspondence at somewhat earlier dates. Probably, however, we can consider that the new name was firmly established in October.

The highly informal procedure is unusual and surprising, in view of the fact that at this period Congress had become very conscious of names and even jealous of its prerogative of naming new territories. (On this point see my *Names on the Land*, 1945, pages 301–314.) The failure of Congress to do anything about a name may be attributed to two causes. First, there was a transition period of some months between the signing of the treaty and the actual raising of the flag at Sitka. During this time the government could take no action because the purchase was not yet surely a part of the United States. Second, Alaska was not established as a territory until many years later. The question of its naming thus did not come before the Committee on Territories or before Congress.

On the basis of materials available, my own conclusion is that the name established itself by a kind of anonymous process of folk-selection. Sumner certainly had a hand in it; so did Halleck; so, quite possibly, did Seward; and so, in all likelihood, did a lot of other people. We should remember that the New York *Times* was using Alaska three weeks before the writing of Halleck's letter or the publication of Sumner's "speech."

Once Russian America had become inapplicable, numerous people – journalists and others – must have looked at their maps to see what other names were available. At this time Indian names were very popular. Anyone thus looking at a recent map would have seen the name Alaska in a fairly prominent position. It thus served the need excellently – an aboriginal name, somewhat vaguely applied, not confined within precise boundaries, readily expandible to cover the whole area.

In this last connection some historical analogies may be offered. A peninsula is not so perfectly delineated as is an island, and there is often a tendency for its name to be extended more widely around

its base. Thus Italy was at first applied only to a small southern section. In the same way Florida and California have exceeded their original peninsular limits. Alaska offers another striking example of the process.

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The present essay has been able, I hope, to present the general outlines of the process by which Alaska has become a notable name; some details of the process remain to be filled in. As a concluding word, we may note that once Alaska has gained statehood it will not only add one more to the twenty-six present names of states derived from native American languages, but also will add something new. The present names are derived from several different linguistic stocks – Algonquian, Iroquoian, Siouan, Muskogean and others. Alaska will add a name from the Aleutian language of the Eskimo linguistic stock.

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Drummers and Dreamers is the title of a book published by our member Click Relander, city editor of the *Yakima Daily Republic*, and well-known historian, author, and sculptor. It is a fascinating account of the Indian tribes of the Wanapums in Washington, with numerous illustrations, including some photographs of Indian sculptures by the author. Mechanically, the book is a well-nigh perfect job of The Caxton Printers. Since the book contains a wealth of information on names we shall publish an extensive review in one of the next issues.

Street Nomenclature in Mexico City

JACK AUTREY DABBS

From its earliest days the City of Mexico, or old Tenochtitlán, has escaped one of the plagues of the medieval cities of Europe: their winding streets and irregular arrangements. It has to some extent escaped the narrowness of the worst European streets; but a maze of names has grown up about the streets, and time has not helped greatly in reducing it. Perhaps the oldest city in the New World continually occupied, its streets have had time to develop legends and histories, whose origin can be lost in the mist of centuries; and each of the old streets has a lengthy, an adventurous, a romantic, sometimes bloody history of its own.

Although built by the Aztecs on an island during the two centuries before the Spanish conquest, the city from the beginning enjoyed a certain amount of regularity in the street system. We have the names of very few of the streets as of 1519, specifically, the arterial causeways that led from the mainland and converged upon the great square at the temple of Huitzilopochtli. These causeways took their name from the mainland town or suburb to which they led from the central square. The north causeway, about one league or three miles long, led to Tepeyac, now the town of Guadalupe, and bore that name. The causeway leading west was named after the town of Tlacopam, to which it led, a little less than a league in length. In the south lay the Calzada de Huitzilopochco, later Tacuba, about two leagues long; and to join it at a point about a half league from the capital came the Calzada de Iztapalapan, the most famous of them all, the route of the first entry by the Spanish.

These streets and their continuations as causeways were wide and straight, and the Spaniards who viewed them from the southern route and later from the heights of the Pyramid and Temple of Huitzilopochtli were astounded at the width and straightness

and regular construction. Even after the destruction of the city by Cortés and its rebuilding, these same streets continued to create that effect. In 1554 Cervantes Salazar himself pointed out the regularity and beauty of these streets.[1]

Besides these four names we have few, if, indeed, any, street names left to us. The rest of the city besides these principal avenues had a maze of streets or canals, some solid ground, some purely canals between rows of houses, which led some Spaniards to compare the city with Venice; others, apparently a great many others, had both a dry footway and a waterway.[2] The size of these streets and canals has been a source of much argument. Some historians have described them as extremely narrow, others as very wide, allowing the passage of quite large boats. Apparently, too, the city had to some extent a construction by which the front entrance of larger houses opened upon solid ground or solid streets, while the rear entrance opened upon a canal.

When we consider how much of the old city has been preserved or reconstructed, it comes as a surprise that we do not know the names of the smaller streets. For example, we know the names of scores of temples and *barrios* or districts,[3] twenty-four squares and plazas,[4] several palaces, and even some of the larger houses. So presumably the smaller streets had names, but few if any have survived. Luis González Obregón[5] has listed sixteen streets and indicated several others not named, which still bear Nahuatl names, with the presumption that they continue Pre-Conquest names. We can by no means conclude this because without some intervening documentation we have no way of knowing whether the name has or has not been assigned in later periods, such as

[1] Cervantes Salazar, Francisco, *Life in the City of Mexico*, 1554. University of Texas Press, 1955, pp. 49–50.

[2] Valle-Arizpe, Artemio de, *Historia de la Ciudad de México según relatos de sus cronistas*. Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939, p. 68. See also Motolinía, Toribio de, *History of the Indians of New Spain*. (Translated by F. B. Steck), Washington, 1951, p. 271.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[4] Viera, Juan de, *Compendiosa narración de la Ciudad de México*, Mexico: Editorial Guarania, 1952, p. 103.

[5] González Obregón, Luis, *Las Calles de México, 2a Ed. con prólogo y elogios de don Carlos González Peña*... Mexico: Imp. M. León Sánchez, 1924. 2 vols. (Another edition is dated 1936; the 7th Edition 1947) I, 2.

the Colonial Period. Moreover, the names appear mostly in the older or "Indian" part of the city, for which we have little historical or descriptive documentation.

A critical period for the street names is that between 1521 and 1524, when written records, such as records of the Cabildo, began. Immediately after the end of the siege of Tenochtitlán and once the Spaniards were masters of the city, a period of reconstruction began. Temples and houses and walls had been demolished as part of the fighting; where passage was impeded, the canals were filled in, and the city lay in ruins. Cortés then ordered the new Aztec Emperor Cuauhtémoc to see to the cleaning up of the rubble, and he ordered his geometrician, Alonso García Bravo, to map the city and prepare for a new division of the property.[6] Although this was long before the Royal Cedula of 1542, which set forth the royal plans for the spatial organization of new cities, the result of this survey followed its outlines remarkably well. Taking the site of the Temple of Huitzilopochtli as a center, he had streets laid out at right angles and with long, straight vistas. In this, of course, he blended with the pre-existing Aztec plan, and where he varied the arrangement, it was usually to take in the old system. It is reasonably safe, then, to conclude that in the heart of Mexico City today we walk on the heels of the pedestrians of ancient Tenochtitlán.

At that time Cortés was criticized for choosing the base of the temple of Huitzilopochtli for the site of the new cathedral, building a Christian church on the site of the center of a vicious religion. He was likewise criticized for locating his capital on the island, with its danger from floods and the problems of transportation. But apparently Cortés defended himself sufficiently, and the ease with which the religion of the people was changed to Christianity and the Aztec regime to the Spanish was no doubt aided materially by that choice. Neither he nor his apologists can defend the choice from the other complaint.[7]

During the first years of reconstruction and of the colonial

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[6] Valle-Arizpe, *op. cit.*, p. 136. Also Valle-Arizpe, *Calle Vieja y Calle Nueva*, Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1949, pp. 12–13. For the arrangement of the city in 1521, see Dan Stanislawski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World." *Geographical Review*, XXXVII (1947) 97–101.

[7] Stanislawski. *op. cit.* p. 99.

period the roads were often called by the names of the town to which they led or the site along which they passed, as the Camino de los Volcanes, leading up from Cholula, Tlahuac, the dike-causeway-road that passed along between Xochimilco and Chalco. Later when other dikes were built and used as roads, they took the name of the dike or lake in which they were located.[8]

On the outskirts of the city and on the periphery of the island a series of chinampas or floating gardens held a considerable part of the inhabitants; and since these could change their position, creating new arrangements, we need not look for street names beyond the heart of the city itself.

The Spaniards chose their own areas and had homes built that resembled feudal castles[9] for protection, not for beauty.[10]

From the earliest times, however, when writers refer to streets by name, they nearly always use Spanish terms. We are usually at a loss to know whether they are names imposed by the Spaniards without regard for local names, or whether they are translations. Specifically, for the first years of the Conquest we have references to these: Calle de la Celada, Calle de la Carrera, Calle de los Oidores, Calle de la Guardia, Calle de las Atarazanas, Calle de la Agua (alias Acequia Real), Portal de las Flores (still extant), while probably of much older age are the Indian names of Necatitlán, Chiconautla (= nueve caminos de agua), also Nautotlán, Nahuatlato, Tlascoaque, and Tezontlale (= lugar del tezontle).[11]

Some of our earliest information comes from the *Actas de Cabildo de la Ciudad de México.* As early as 1524 Spaniards began to ask for landgrants or *solares* in the city. In the minutes of the meetings we find addresses given for the Calle de la Guardia,[12] Calle de los Donceles,[13] Calle de Istapalapa, Calle de Atacuba

[8] Francisco de Garay, *El Valle de México. Apuntes históricos sobre su hidrografía desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros dias.* Mexico: Tip. Sec. de Fomento, 1888, p. 21.

[9] Valle-Arizpe, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[10] Cervantes Salazar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[11] "Calles Antiguas de México," in Juan N. del Valle, *El Viajero en México. Completa guía de forasteros para 1864.* Mexico: Imprenta de Andrade y Escalante 1864, pp. 701–703. Also Ángel R. de Arellano, *Leyendas y tradiciones relativas a las calles de México.* Mexico: J. J. Terrazos, 1894, 80 pages.

[12] *Actas de Cabildo de la Ciudad de México.* Mexico: 1889. Edited by Ignacio Bejarano. c. 100 vols., I, 1.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 1.

(error for Tacuba?), Calle de la Celada, Calle del Hospital (a square, not a street in 1524), Calle del Agua, Calzada de Atucuba (Tacuba?), and Zalapa,[14] Calle de las Canoas,[15] and Calle de la Carrera.[16]

One indication in the *Actas de Cabildo* that street names may not have established themselves everywhere appears in some circumlocutions instead of names used in locating places and plots of land within the city: "Los dichos señores dieron a Pedro Gabiosa un solar que está a las espaldas del solar de Larios y delante de la Calle que es frontero al solar de Francisco de Solís. . ."[17]

On other occasions the term *Calle real* is used. The Cabildo

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[14] ". . . un solar que está en una calle travieza de la Zalapa" (abbreviation for Iztapalapa?) in *Ibid.*, I, 17.

[15] ". . . un solar que está en las calles de las canoas que sale a la Plaza . . ." in *Ibid.*, I, 17.

[16] *Ibid.*, I, 57.

[17] *Ibid.*, Other expressions used as designations of streets:

". . . el canton de la Calle que sale á la Calle de Juan Ceciliano . . ." (I, 9)

". . . la calle real frontero del solar de Cristóbal de Quesada . . ." (I, 9)

". . . pidió un solar que está en la calle que vá de la Plaza de esta ciudad hazia el tianguis de la casa de Juan Velazquez que es que alinda con solar de Alonso de Ávila y la calle real en medio." (I, 11. Almost the same statement on page 13.)

". . . (le dieron) por solar uno que esta en una calle que atrabieza a la de Yztapalapa que ha por linderos de la una parte el solar de Riobo e de la otra parte la calle real . . ." (I, 23).

". . . los señores le hicieron merced de le dar toda la tierra . . . en el camino que va a Chapultepeque a las espaldas de Juan Garrido e de las otras huertas que estan dadas hasta la alaguna . . ." (I, 28)

". . . le señarlaron por solar un solar que está en la trabieza de la calle de la Guardia que es a las espaldas de Alonso Nortez junto a la calle del agua que biene a la plaza syn perjuycio de tercero." (I, 28)

". . . le señarlaron por solar la tierra que esta en la agua que ha por linderos de la una parte la calle que atrabiesa delante de Antón Bravo asia la casa de Manuel Berdugo . . ." (I, 29)

". . . le señarlaron por solar uno que esta en la calle de Celada que va de las carnecerías frontero de Villaruel e de Alonso Perez la calle en medio el qual le señarlaron . . ." (I, 31)

". . . pidió le hicieran merced de un solar que esta e alinda con la calle real que ba a Tacuba e por el lado con la calle que ba por la puerta de Juan Belasquez indio e por detras e espaldas linde del solar de Ruy Gonzalez." (I, 37)

". . . le señala . . . toda la tierra que esta de una parte e de otra de la calzada que va a Chapultepeque . . . desde la fuente de San Lázaro a esta parte hazia la ciudad y por aqui derecho de la calle que tiene San Lázaro hasta el Tatelolco e a la mano yzquierda todo lo que esta por edificar hasta Chapultepeque." I, 205 (April 3, 1529).

evidently used it generically, not to refer to a specific street but to its nature. The Spaniards, accustomed to the winding streets of Spanish cities, thought of a straight street with long vistas as a special type, and they described it as *real*, evidently, because they knew no specific name for it.[18]

An examination of the *Actas del Cabildo* shows the lines of Spanish settlement in the early years. In 1524 half of the land grants or solares were located on the Calzada de Tacuba, beginning in the vicinity of the Pyramid of Huitzilopochtli or later the Cathedral, and near the castle of Cortés and running west along that street and a nearby street that led to Chapultepec. Another line of settlement led from the same center southward, along the Spanish side of the Great Canal, the Calle del Agua, or Calle de la Acequia. Outside the core about the Cathedral and Castle of Cortés, however, the cross-streets apparently had no particular names, at least not officially accepted, and the Cabildo referred to land plots by naming the owners of adjoining plots. This paucity of names at a time when land was being distributed indicates that Indian names had been discarded or forgotten. The fact that the Cabildo did use Indian terms for the arterial ways leading to the mainland indicates that they did not object to Indian terms, rather that they did not know them. The segregation of Indians in the eastern part of the city, beyond the Calle de la Acequia and the rapid Hispanization of the core of the city shows that the city officials were probably unaware and uninterested in learning the original names. Hence the circumlocutions used in the early years to show the location of the land grants. When names were later applied, they showed almost completely Spanish concepts.

The first *Actas del Cabildo* also show early use of the names of land-owners, squares, corners, and prominent buildings as points of reference in giving addresses. This system continued in the form of the use of this type of name to refer to short stretches of a given street, regardless of its length in our terms.

In the process of reconstruction, although some of the canals were filled in, a great deal of commerce continued on the waters

[18] José María Marroquí, *La Ciudad de México. Contiene: el origen de los nombres de muchos de sus calles y plazas, del de varios establecimientos públicos y privados, y no pocas noticias curiosas y entretenidas.* Mexico: Tip. "La Europa," 1900. 3 vols. I, 6.

of the others. The Indians had so few animals and the need for transport was so imperative that probably the capital could not have survived without extensive use of the waterways.[19] As a result of the remodeling of the city, seven principal canals, evidently the same that had been important in pre-Conquest days, remained for use. These seven main canals bore both Spanish and Nahuatl names.[20] The value of these canals to the city appears in the fact that far from filling them all in, the city administration actually lengthened them by 6,000 yards between 1637 and 1748, from 16,616 varas to 22,363 varas.[21]

The largest of the canals early lost its Nahuatl name and appears first as the Acequia Real, which crossed several of the main streets of the new city. This canal, entering from the southwest,[22] was bordered by land routes or streets which passed the building of San Juan de Letrán, the Coliseo, and under a great variety of bridges, then continued northeast past the Calle de Tacuba, the palaces of Cortés and the Archbishop, and the fortress or Atarazana.[23] At least three other canals joined it along the route.

Moreover, this same Calle de la Acequia or Calle de las Canoas served another purpose – that of separating the social classes in the capital. Within the limits of the canal the Spaniards built their homes and conducted their business. Beyond it lived the Indians in their less pretentious abodes. Spaniards were not allowed to own land east of the canal, nor the Indians west of it.[24] The canal kept its independent status until the middle of the 18th Century, finally to be filled in and to become a street, keeping the name of Calle de las Canoas, or Calle de la Acequia, then consecutively the names of Tlapaleros, Refugio, Coliseo Viejo, and Callejón de los Dolores, and later becoming the Avenida del 16 de Septiembre and Avenida Hidalgo Oriente 2.

These canals, of course, did not furnish potable water for the city; rather they served for transportation and sewage. Fresh water cam from several wells and even a "subterranean channel"

[19] Cervantes Salazar, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[20] Valle-Arizpe, *Calle Vieja y Calle Nueva*, p. 25.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[23] Cervantes Salazar, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 and 56.
[24] Valle-Arizpe, *Calle Vieja y Calle Nueva*, p. 45.

from a fresh-water supply in Chapultepec.[25] Gradually these canals became cesspools that raised the water to street level and aided in flooding the city. The Marqués de Montesclaros ordered them cleaned out in 1605,[26] but the result of his efforts soon disappeared. With the gradual lowering of the water level of Lake Texcoco, however, and development of land traffic, the canals found less and less use. The Spanish erected several buildings over the canals,[27] and gradually filled them in. Where they remained as streets, however, the next century profited by having wider passageways, fortunately for modern traffic.

The Valley of Mexico has no natural drainage, and floods plagued the city throughout the Colonial era. The valley has five lakes, the lowest of which was Texcoco, with the island-city of Tenochtitlán. Heavy rainfall and melting of snow meant a higher lake-level, and therefore floods. On one occasion, 1629, water stood in the streets of the city for two years. Various schemes were tried for relieving the danger; and at last, after tremendous efforts, a canal was cut through to the Tula River, which led to the sea. After that achievement the danger of floods diminished, and the level of Lake Texcoco gradually lowered from evaporation and a series of dams on the tributary streams.

The desiccation of Lake Texcoco gradually turned the capital from an island into a port, then an inland city. This change came about so gradually that it was not heralded by the writers of the times, and only by a comparison of the maps can the progress be evaluated. The level was relatively low and the bottom flat, even in 1519; and as the water line shrank, it left first swamps, then mainland. Maps of Mexico for 1608 still show the city an island joined to the mainland by causeways.[28] Maps of 1700 show cause-

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[25] Cervantes Salazar, *op. cit.*, p. 52. This construction was really an aqueduct, partly covered, partly exposed. (*Ibid.*, p. 70). Keeping the water supply sanitary posed a continuous problem. At first a certain Juan Garrido had a contract to guard the water in passage; but when his work proved unsatisfactory, the Cabildo turned that charge over to some Indians, December 29, 1524 (*Actas de Cabildo de la Ciudad de México*, I, 23).

[26] Marroquí, *op. cit.*, I, 181. In pre-Conquest times the Aztecs did not make use of the canals for disposing of sewage. Rather, they furnished barges which gathered the sewage and transported it to the mainland for use as fertilizer.

[27] *Ibid.*, I, 183.

[28] Ola Apenas, *Mapas antiguos del Valle de México*. Mexico, 1947, Lámina No. 16.

ways but also a strip of dry land on the west side.[29] Again in 1715 a more detailed map[30] shows solid ground between Chapultepec and the city. Houses with orderly streets occupied nearly all of the island itself. By 1774 the water in the lake within the dikes had disappeared, and only four canals emptied into Texcoco proper. Since then the capital may be considered an inland city.

The Colonial Period. Surviving maps show an orderly arrangement of the city with squares and straight streets, but unfortunately no names. Studies made of the older maps have applied names, but they are usually modern or late colonial, not contemporaneous, names. Religious and public buildings of the early colonial period can be located, but the names of the streets are estimates.

The map of the capital by Alonzo de Santa Cruz in the middle of the 17th century again shows us no names, although the street system is clear. We know of course, that by that time the colonial system was well in progress, and that the streets had names because Cervantes Salazar named some of them for us, a hundred years before. He mentioned the famous Tacuba Street, which led to the central plaza. He described but did not name the artisans' street, where the guilds plied their trades; he mentioned San Francisco Street, next to Tacuba for size.[31] Juan de Viera also mentioned it. Another is mentioned, and he described but did not name: "... one which leads to the market place and takes its name from the convent ..."[32] For that period we also know the names of Calle del Reloj, and Calle del Arzobispado.[33] From 1625 we also know the names Calle de San Agustín, La Platería, (Calle de los Plateros?) and Calle del Águila, and La Alameda.[34]

The Plano de Juan Gómez de Trasmonte of 1628 again gives details, and the map bears a legend listing a number of buildings, but no street names.[35]

However, by the time the colonial system was in full swing

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[29] *Ibid.*, Lámina No. 17.

[30] *Ibid.*, Lámina No. 20.

[31] Cervantes Salazar, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Juan de Viera, *Planos de la Ciudad de México, siglos XVI y XVII.*

[34] Orozco y Berra, Manuel, in *La Gran Ciudad de México Tenochtitlán, Perla de la Nueva España, según relatos de antaño y Ogaño.* Cultura, VIII (1818) 104.

[35] Manuel Toussaint, *Planos de la Ciudad de México: Siglos XVI y XVII* ... Mexico: "Cultura," 1938.

a number of street names were known to us. From those we can see that at least in the Spanish section names came from a limited number of sources:

1. Streets whose names came from their association with certain significant buildings which faced them. This explains the frequent change in names; a part of a street may be named for a convent, but as soon as one is several blocks from that convent, the designation no longer has any cogency, and it is only natural to refer then to another building. As a result, on many streets names changed every few blocks, although the street might be straight.

2. Guilds soon after their establishment in Mexico gave their old world system to the capital, and we find streets throughout the Colonial Era named for the trade pursued on them, *e. g.* Calle de los Plateros,[36] Curtidores, Celaceros, Chiquihuiteros, Talabarteros, and Cordobones.

3. Saints and holy references. These, however, are not simple applications of the names of saints to a street; in most cases they are the short form for a designation of a building with a longer name, such as San Francisco, for the Convento de San Francisco, and Santa María for la Iglesia de Santa María la Redonda.

4. Whimsical and descriptive names: El Indio Triste, Calle de Tumbaburros, Volador, Calle de las Ratas, El Niño Perdido, Puerta Falsa de San Andrés. This includes animals, *e. g.* Hormigas, Papitas, Titiriteros, Torito, and Zopilote, Azpo, Vaquita, and Puente de los Gallos. Some names are even more fantastic: Sal, si puedes.

5. Empirical names, mostly based on the route or destination: Tacuba, Istapalapa, etc.

6. Names of persons: These appear, but rarely. The period of such names followed the War of Independence. When they appear, they usually designate a residence rather than a person.

7. Indian names, either new or ancient, and for reasons not clear until the etymology and history is studied in each case.

The street names of the center of the city can be fairly well reconstructed as of the year 1635, thanks to a poem discovered in the Bibliothéque Nationale, which describes in verse a tour of the center of the city, naming the side streets with some humor and comments.[37] Many other names used in the Colonial Period

[36] González Obregón, Las Calles de México, I, 5.

[37] *Ibid.*, II, 214–222.

have been published with the modern equivalents and some historical notes.[38]

For the beginning of the 19th century we have a fairly complete listing of the names of the streets.[39] We know there were 304 streets, but most of the names preserved are Spanish, (Andalicio, Cristal, Ceballos, Copado, Destierro, Caray, Crados, etc.) rarely Indian (*e. g.* Apahuázcan, Chichimecápan, Coconepan, Cuátlan). Very few bore the names of real persons (Garay, Ceballos, Doña Andrea, Juanico, etc.[40]), and they usually referred to that part of a street where the person once had a residence.

Republican Period, or the 19th Century. With the end of the Colonial Period, 1821–1824, a new epoch began in the use of names for streets. While the city expanded gradually and developed more streets, they tended to use fewer direct religious references and not to confine the names to a single block but to extend them the whole length of a straight street, somewhat on the order of the North American cities. During this period personal names came into popularity. In the 19th century nearly all of the heroes of the War for Independence had a street named for them, mostly by the expedient of substituting the name for an older one. This practice is easily explained by the positivistic philosophy of many of the leaders and the anti-clerical bias of the ruling groups through most of the century. It was not the fashion to use names with religious connotations. A concordance of the old and new system of names, issued in 1908, gives the new names for old streets, and the late names of streets too new to have old names. Of the new streets there are 87, but not one of them bears a name with religious connotation. When several short streets were put together to form a new one, the name generalized was the more famous, and in some cases it might well be a holy name.

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[38] "Nombres antiguos de las calles de México," in *Ibid.*, I, 213–225. See also Federico Gómez de Orozco, *La Plaza de Guardiola. Monografía histórica* ... Mexico: Banco de México, 1942; Hare, W. L., "The City of Mexico," in *Garden Cities and Town Planning*, XIII (1923) 135–142; Miguel S. Macedo, *Mi barrio (segunda mitad del siglo XIX)*, Mexico: Ed. Cultura, 1930; Artemio de Valle-Arizpe, *Calle vieja y calle nueva*, Mexico, Editorial Jus, 1949.

[39] *México dividido en cuarteles mayores y menores. Nombres de sus calles. Las de sus Jueces y Alcaldes, etc.*, Manuel Antonio Valdés, 1811, quoted in Luis González Obregón, *México en 1810*, Mexico, Editorial Stylo, 1943.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

Of the 87 new names the distribution was as follows:

Names based on the environment:
Avenida del Hipodromo, Avenida del Hospital

Names of respected persons:
Augustín Melgar, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Juan de la Barrera, Juan Escotia, Pasteur, Riva Palacio, and Vicente Suárez

Names of places:
States in Mexico: Colima, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Puebla, Queretaro, San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa, Zacatecas
Cities in Mexico: Acapulco, Atlixco, Avenida Mazatlán, Avenida Monclova, Córdoba, Cozumel, Cuernavaca, Fresno, Frontera, Guadalajara, Guaymas, Jalapa, Mérida, Orizaba, Pachuca, Plaza de Orizaba, Tabasco, Tampico, Zamora
Rivers: Amazonas, Balsas, Danubio, Lerma, Mississippi, Neva, Nilo, Pánuco, Plaza del Río Blanco del Rhin, Río de la Plata, del Tamesis, Tibes
Cities abroad: Florencia, Medellín, Orleans, Salamanca, Toledo, Valladolid, Varsovia
Islands: Cozumel[41]

The new names, of course, were not given at random; even the place names, as an examination of a map shows, followed certain patterns in the part of the city where they appear. For example, in the southwest corner of the city, in the 8th district, beginning

[41] *Diccionario de las calles de la Ciudad de México con equivalencia de la nueva nomenclatura comparada con la antigua y vice versa*, México, 1908. Cf. also *Diccionario de las calles de la Ciudad de México. Instrucciones para usar el plano. México en 1810, 1876, 1909*, Mexico: Imp. Lacoud, n. d.; Felipe N. García, *Plano topográfico de la Ciudad de México, con una fácil combinación para buscar y encontrar en el acto la calle que se dice por la nueva o antigua nomenclatura, Mexico*, n. d.; Ayuntamiento de México, *Dictamen y votos particulares de los miembros de las comisiones unidas de hacienda y aguas del Ayuntamiento de la capital sobre la solicitud del ingeniero D. Carlos A. de Medina en que hace proposiciones*, México, 1887; *México dividido en ocho cuarteles mayores y treinta y tres menores mandó formar por el Ayuntamiento Constitucional de México* ... México: Imp. Hijos de Murguia, 1871; *Nomenclatura por orden alfabético de las calles de la Ciudad de México e instrucciones para el uso del plano* ..., México, American Book and Printing Co., n. d.; *Plano general de indicación de la Ciudad de México con la división de los cuarteles y antigua y nueva nomenclatura de las calles*, México: Antigua litografía Debrey, 1889; *Plano que representa las calles compuestas en el semestre de enero a junio de 1866*, México, 1866; Ángel M. del Puerto y Vicario and José Luis Morali, *Demarcación de manzanas que comprende los 8 cuarteles mayores, y 32 menores en que está dividida la Ciudad de México* ..., México, tip. Vicente García Torres, 1853.

with Avenida de Chapultepec and running south, parallel streets have the names of states of Mexico, with an occasional city. Again, streets running at right, or nearly right angles from the Paseo de la Reforma generally north-south, have the names of cities, mostly European.

Legislation on Street Names. By 1881 the arrangement and nomenclature of the streets had reached a point where it seemed ridiculous to the philosophy of the *científicos* who then in effect governed Mexico under the influence of the positivist school that loved straight lines and mathematical arrangements. In that year José N. Limantour, Regidor of the Ayuntamiento, presented a study of the maze of streets, calling for fewer changes in the street names, more use of numbers, and a better system of house numbers. The Ayuntamiento approved his study and sent it to the Gobierno del Distrito, where the report gathered dust.[42]

Later, in 1885, Regidor Manuel González Cosío placed a motion before the Ayuntamiento calling for a numerical system for the streets. That body then requested the Comisión de Obras Públicas to do something about the street names. An engineer, then the city engineer, Roberto Gayol, made an elaborate proposal after attacking the existing disarray; and he pointed out the ridiculousness or the pompousness or the unnecessary lenght of such names as Tumbaburros, Las Mil Maravillas, and of the Parque de la Moneda. He noted the confusion that a foreigner felt in trying to move about the city (and many foreigners were coming – this was the period of the Díaz prosperity based on foreign investments). He noted that even the numbers on the houses offered the same confusion, with one number sometimes repeated on the same block. He deplored the frequent changes in the names of the streets, citing the case of a new suburb, the Colonia de Santa María la Ribera, only twenty years old, and yet whose street names already had changed, some for shorter, others for longer terms.[43] It likewise seemed unreasonable that a city with 973 streets should have only

[42] "Dictamen de la 2a Comisión especial de concejales . . .," p. 64 in Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México, *Documentos relativos a la nomenclatura de calles y numeración de casas de la Ciudad de México*, México: Tip. La Europea, 1904.

[43] Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México, *Documentos relativos a la nomenclatura de calles y numeración de casas de la Ciudad de México*, pp. 5–7.

608 names, especially when some names repeated as many as ten times.[44]

As a remedy he proposed to choose two intersecting streets as axes, dividing them into sub-names, North, South, the other into East-West, and bearing numbers as well as names, and numbering the streets from the intersection with one of the axes. For some of the short streets and streets on the cul-de-sac principle, he had a more elaborate system with capital letters. One of the advantages he pointed out was that then they would need fewer street signs.

A new concept brought in was to name all streets going East and West *Avenidas*. All going North and South were to be called *Calles*.

The axes suggested were the line of Santa Isabel and San Juan de Letrán for the North-South line, and the East-West line was to follow San Andrés, Santa Clara, and Tacuba Streets. This made the Plaza de la Constitución the center of the city, although at that time the city was expanding more to the west than in any other direction.

For the necessary changes Engineer Gayol estimated that about 1200 signs would place the necessary name-signs on the corners. He recommended white letters in relief on a blue blackground, porcelain finish, at about two pesos each, or 3,600 pesos required for making the change. He also recommended house numbers of the same type, which would cost from 31c to $1.75, depending on the number of ciphers.

The Ayuntamiento of Mexico accepted this plan in general, only changing the axes to the North-South lines of Santa Isabel and Puente de la Mariscala (traditionally a sort of center of town). In addition to names the streets were to have numbers, streets on the North or East streets would have odd numbers; those on the South or West streets would have even numbers, running from the axis. Within the street, and beginning at the axis, house numbers should begin with odd numbers on the right, even on the left. The numbers should run in intervals of five meters each, whether or not a door occupied the site. Each block was to contain one section of one hundred possible numbers.

[44] Mancera, Gabriel, *Dos ensayos de nomenclatura alfabética y de numeración para la Ciudad de México y para las que se le asemejan*, México: Imp. Fernando Camacho, 1895, p. 1.

A commission was to be set up to work out the new names and numbers, and changes were to be published daily as decided upon. In the meantime the old names and numbers could be used until the new terms were generalized. For the purposes of the change, the Comisión de Hacienda set up a budget of $600 per month, beginning January 17, 1888.[45]

Once the Ayuntamiento opened the way for changes, a variety of schemes was offered in competition with that of Gayol. One of the most ingenious was a proposal by Gabriel Mancera.[46] He proposed to re-name the streets by a system in which the name itself would contain elements that would locate its part of the city. North-south streets would have names beginning with vowels. East-west streets would have names beginning with consonants. Then instead of 608 names they would have only 300 or at most 500. As usual he placed the point of departure at the Puente de la Mariscala, San Andrés, and Santa Isabel. The North-east quadrant would have street names beginning with A, the South-east quadrant with E, the Southwest with I, and the Northwest with O. Moving from the axis, the second letter of the name would have successively letters of the alphabet: Ebro, Ecatepec, Edinburgo, etc., or Boadicea, Bocoris, Bolívar, Bósporo, etc. This system was further elaborated so that the name would make it possible to spot streets on a sort of X–Y grid.

A variation also proposed by Mancera followed Gayol's classification of *Avenidas* and *Calles*, but added four other types of streets: the *Pasaje* for short streets, *Lado* for the area about a square, *Callejón cerrado* for dead-end streets and the *Rinconada* for turns in the streets. Since these suggestions were offered freelance, without official sanction, they received short-shrift from both the Ayuntamiento and the citizenry.

The result of this new movement was a confusion that began as soon as the first list of new street names came out and continued to grow as new lists appeared. Although the post office was kept abreast of the daily list of the changes, it could only attempt to overcome the trouble caused by two sets of addresses, the new and

[45] For a list of the new names compared with the old nomenclature, see Adolfo Barreiro, *Nomenclaturas comparadas de las calles de la Ciudad de México*, México: Antigua Imprenta de Murguia, 1889. 80 pages. See also footnote 41.

[46] Mancera, Gabriel, *Dos ensayos* ..., pp. 1–15.

the old. Moreover, the funds set up for purchase of the new street signs was inadequate, and the erection of the new signs progressed slowly, so that ten years later still not all streets had the new signs.

Meantime, January 6, 1893, the Dirección de Obras Públicas after having erected the street signs with the "new nomenclature" decided to put up signs alongside them showing the "old nomenclature." Thus the reluctance of the citizenry to give up the older names won a first round.

This difficulty persisted for years, and rather than helping avoid confusion, compounded it. Gradually, however, the new house numbers won out, as old numbers disappeared from view, and that became a closed issue. But for the new visitor to the capital in those years as well as to many old residents, an address was a real puzzle. To help out, a variety of guides, pocket size, was printed and widely distributed. They usually gave the "nomenclatura antigua" alphabetical, with the equivalent in the "nomenclatura nueva," and vice versa.

To add to the difficulty, the capital continued to grow in size, adding new suburbs, especially south of the Calzada de la Reforma. These local citizens gave their own choice of names in a most helter-skelter fashion, and without any official authorization. Moreover, the streets did not run North-south or East-west as provided for in plans, so that the Plan of Gayol could not be rationally followed. On October 17, 1899, the Ayuntamiento entered the fray with a plea to designate the newer streets with numbers and the designation North-east, South-west, etc. The result was a conflict with the citizens who continued to use the "nomenclatura nominal," in particular favoring the names of European cities for street names.[47]

At last in August, 1903, the President himself entered the field and ordered a new commission set up to study the situation and to recommend a remedy.[48]

The commission studied the problem and found itself divided into two points of view. The old nomenclature was called the nominal, and the new system was called the numerical, and much printer's ink went into the discussions.

[47] Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México, *Documentos relativos* a la nomenclatura ..., pp. 69–70.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

The adherents of the nominal system pointed out several other great cities of the world that had approximately the same problem but kept it – Paris and Berlin being the two most illustrous examples, but with London included at times. The North American cities mentioned had the same problem, the old names were kept - only new additions came in for the numerical systems.

To the charge that some of these streets bore "ridiculous" names, again other cities could be cited that had the same faults. Even the proponents of the nomenclature nominal allowed for certain reforms or changes: they did not object to making enough changes that a street might have the same name as long as it pursued a straight course; they admitted that a name should not be used for more than one street; they objected to ridiculous names or names of animals in the future. They agreed that streets should not be named for persons still alive, and they agreed to reserve to the Ayuntamiento the right to name the streets.

Further, the proponents of the numerical system pointed out that the use of the terms *Avenidas* and *Calles* depending on the direction of the street would result in having the elevated term *Avenida* applied to small and insignificant streets, while some main thoroughfares would have the lesser term of *Calle*.

The final result of the study by this commission:

1. To keep in the main the old nomenclature, with some specific changes: Streets following a straight line were to have only one name, the most popular and dignified. Not two streets should have the same name. New streets should remain without names, only to have numbers, until the Ayuntamiento gave them names of persons, events, etc.

2. The Ayuntamiento reserved the right to give names to the streets.

3. The double signs were to be changed to single signs, leaving the approved name, usually the old one.

4. House numbers were to be changed to a successive system, even and odd on opposite sides.

The report was presented to the Ayuntamiento December 10, 1903, and passed to City Engineer Gayol for study and recommendation. This engineer had not changed his mind during the interventing ten years and disagreed with the findings of the commission, which consisted of Nicolas Mariscal, J. Galindo y Villa, and Miguel

Quevedo. Instead, he sent a new set of *Observaciones* in which he complained that the old system had not worked because the Ayuntamiento had not furnished either enough money or energy to make the plan a success. He further claimed that not even the members of the Ayuntamiento had insisted on using the new nomenclature in their official correspondence. Further, he took up each point of the defense of the nomenclature nominal and reduced it by logical reasoning.

This study was again taken up by the Ayuntamiento, and a second commission was appointed to examine the matter. This commission turned in a lengthy report on May 31, 1904, in which it summarized the arguments and possible plans.[49] In general the line followed those of earlier reports, but it added a new thought in that the *nomenclature nominal* required shorter addresses, for the name of a short street fixed the location of the destination closely, while for a long street with the other system the address had more confusing numbers and left a wider chance for error. This second commission finally concluded and recommended several possible steps:

1. The *Nomenclatura nominal* in general should be kept.
2. Abolish the system approved December 27, 1887, except for a few specified reforms. (They could change ridiculous names, names that appeared more than once; they could extend the main name to a street that changed several times; they could number the blocks as well as houses.)
3. Each change in the name of a street was to follow an individual study of the particular name: changes were to be accompanied by a ceremony, and only the Ayuntamiento could effect a change.
4. House numbers changed by the 1887 order were again to be changed, following a strictly numerical order, but with even and odd numbers on opposite sides.
5. The city was to bear the cost of making the changes in street signs and house numbers.

The study of the commission was considerably aided by the results of a survey they made to determine how much use was being made of the old and new nomenclature.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 64–85.

Antonio Sola, who was in charge of the Administración de Rentas Municipales for twenty-five years, reported that still in 1904 the utility bills and tax assessments for water and paving were kept according to the *nomenclatura antigua*. The new nomenclature was used mostly in addition to the other in order to distinguish two otherwise identical addresses.[50]

The Dirección General de Telégrafos Federales reported that for the last two-year period the addresses used were as follows:

Address:	January 1903	January 1904
Nomenclatura antigua	783	1,033
Nomenclatura nueva	6	11
Public Buildings	253	224
Mixed	1	0
Totals:	1,043	1,268[51]

The head of the Inspección General reported that his office had never used the new nomenclature.[52]

The head of the postoffice reported that in 1888, the first year of the new system, only 10 per cent of the mail followed the new system, dropping the next few years until by 1903 it was rarely encountered on letters.[53]

As a result of these inquiries and replies it was obvious that the old system of nomenclature would persist unless some very firm action, contrary to public will, were employed.

Legislative action then gradually became a dead-letter, and the old names continued as before. In a few years more the Revolution of 1910 brought all such discussion to a halt, and names remained under the *nomenclatura antigua* until 1923.

The 20th Century. For Mexico the 19th Century continued until 1910. Only after that date do we find the beginning of a new era. In 1923 the Revolution was a succes, and its leaders were heroes. As a result, and in celebration of the centennial of Mexican Independence, a new series of changes was ordered for certain streets, to honor such persons as Francisco I. Madero and other recent heroes, the Constitution of 1917, and other trade marks of the

[50] Sala to Gil Best y Iturbe, January 29, 1904, in *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[51] Camilo A. González to Srs. Best, Iturbe, and Gil, México, January 30, 1904 in *ibid.*, pp. 135–136.

[52] Carlos Villegas to Best, Gil, and Iturbe, January 30, 1904, in *ibid.*, p. 136.

[53] N. Domínguez to Best, Iturbe, and Gil, México, February 1, 1904, in *ibid.*, pp. 136–137.

new regime. During that period of relative peace, after 1924, the city expanded in all directions.

During this rapid expansion new suburbs opened up, mostly called *colonias*. Some were older towns simply swallowed up, while in other cases ranches or haciendas on the outskirts were taken over as new developments. Some of these *colonias* were planned by architects and real estate agents, and the names applied follow some logic.[54]

For example the Colonia de Santa María la Ribera started out with North-South streets named for trees: El Encino, El Olivo, El Álamo, El Chopo, El Pino, El Ciprés, El Naranjo, El Sabino, El Fresno, and El Olmo. The streets going east-west were named for flowers: La Violeta, La Magnolia, La Mosqueta, La Camelia, La Rosa, and el Heliotropo. However, when the railroad station was built on the grounds in 1883, streets were rearranged, and some names changed.[55]

In the Colonia de Guerrero we find four of the planets used as names: Venus, Neptuno, Urano, Jupiter.[56]

In the Colonia de la Teja where street construction began in 1904, the North-South streets have the names of foreign rivers: Neva, Amazonas, Rhin, Sena, Danubio, Misisippi, etc., while the northeast-southwest streets have the names of Mexican rivers: Lerma, Pánuco, Nazas, and Balsas.[57]

Another interesting case is the Colonia Valle Gómez, whose outlines began as early as 1889, but the system of street names was not presented to the Ayuntamiento until 1902. Here the north-south streets are named after famous mines: Bolaños, Mellado, Pozos, Fresno, Catorce, Tetela del Oro, Veta Grande, etc., while the east-west streets are named for the minerals extracted from those mines: Aluminio, Cobre, Estaño, Platino, Plomo, Radio, and Zino.[58]

A less piquant arrangement is that of the Colonia Juárez, whose streets have names of foreign cities, both directions.[59]

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[54] Salvador Diego Fernández, "La Ciudad de México a fines del siglo XIX," in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadistica*, XLV (1935–1936) 447–471. Also T. Philip Terry, *Terry's Guide to Mexico*, Revised Edition. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1923, pp. 233–234.

[55] José Lorenzo Cossío Sr., "Colonias de esta capital," in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, XLVI (1937) 15.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [57] *Ibid.*, p. 18. [58] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 33. Also *Terry's Guide to Mexico*, p. 257.

The Colonia Romero Rubio, which became part of the city in 1907, has east-west streets named for provinces of larger political units: Transval, Siberia, Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., while the north-south streets have the names of cities of the Orient.

The old Hacienda de la Asunción has now been broken up into the new Colonia de Santa Julia, whose streets north-south have the names of the Latin American Republics, while the east-west streets have simple ordinal numbers: Primera Avenida, Segunda Avenida, etc.

The Colonias Roma and Condesa have streets named for Mexican states and cities. The Colonia Cuauhtémoc has streets named for rivers. The Colonia San Rafael has streets named for men of all nations. In the vicinity of the new Palacio Legislativo the streets have the names of the *diputados* who framed the original Constitution of 1857.[60] The other *colonias* show a certain amount of plan, but their street names are mostly the names of persons, or the system is so broken that no pattern is clear.

With the advance of the century the desire for changing names has not abated. Each new period of fervent political activity brings as its after effect a rash of new names, such as the changes of 1921.[61]

Another aspect of the names of the last century and a half, especially popular in Latin America, is the habit of calling the streets after some intangible concept or holiday. It is easy to see the pertinency of a plaza named for the Constitution or for Independence, but the Latin Americans have gone so much farther that they have named streets for famous dates: El 18 de Septiembre in commemoration of the beginning of the War for Independence, El Cinco de Mayo in honor of the battle won on that day against the French in 1862, the Paseo de la Reforma in honor of the movement and War of 1857–1860. But most foreigners find the most whimsical of the new names in the Calle del Artículo 123, in honor of that part of the new Constitution of 1917. And while the foreigner stands amazed at the profusion of names and depends on frequent solicitation to find his way, the native population goes on merrily about its business, living with the old names and rejecting, assimilating, or adding the new names on a highly personal basis if changes do not come too fast, and fitting them into its stride. The confusion is mostly resented by foreigners and planners.

[60] *Terry's Guide to Mexico*, p. 257.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

Toponymic Generics III

MEREDITH F. BURRILL

The Results to Date

Since the file of cards for the 15,000 or so maps covers most parts of the country and most of the physically different regions, a high percent of the toponymic generics has probably been recorded, though almost certainly not 100%. The number found so far is something over 750. This is rather more than most people realize, for the vocabulary of even well educated Americans appears to include only a limited number of topographic terms. The geographers and geologists to whom portions of the list have been read as a test have known generally fewer than one third of the terms in the sample and have differed in their concepts of meaning for some of the terms with which they were familiar. The average American's vocabulary of such terms in unquestionably smaller and more directly related to the region of residence. Almost every one of the many persons with whom the terms have been discussed has known some that most of the others did not.

All occurrences of about 100 of the terms recorded have been plotted on United States maps. The selection includes terms from all of the classes but not all from any class, some widely distributed and numerous, some with both a regional concentration and a wide scatter, some with a regional concentration and little or no scatter, some with a wide proliferation of connotations and some with relatively few. The maps completed may not be the ones that will contribute most to the understanding sought, but a start had to be made somewhere and the order will probably prove in the end not to be critical. Maps so far completed are those for arroyo, bayou, bog, brake, brook, butt, canada, chute, cienega, coteau, coulee, draft, draw, folly, gulf, gully, gut, gutter, hammock, heath, hummock, hollow, lake, pocoson, rincon, rio, slash, slough, stream, towhead, tump, vlei (vly — fly) wash, branch, butte, canyon, cliff, cove, creek, drain, flat, fork, gap, glade, glen, hill, hope, knob,

knoll, lowgap, mesa, mound, mountain, narrows, notch, pinnacle, point, pond, prairie, ravine, ridge, river, roundtop, run, swamp, top, valley, backbone, basin, bend, crevasse, floodway, hogback, hole, inlet, levee, marsh, neck, outlet, pass, plateau, savanna, bluff, bay, key, ledge, lick, gulch, peak, and meadow.

The distribution maps at this stage show only occurrences drawn from the topographic maps, even when the features extend into adjacent unmapped areas or when occurrence of the term is a matter of personal knowledge, e. g. The Canyon near Pemaquid, Maine, that is a small gorge at the mouth of a brook known to the author as a local smelt-fishing place. It is not named on the topographic map and the contour interval is not small enough to show it unless one knows it is there. It is expected that most people who see the maps will check against their personal knowledge and exclaim that there is a such-and-such at this place where the map doesn't show one. The author is hopeful that such reports will reach him at first hand, for such informants are likely to be able to furnish information on the connotation of the generic to the people of the locality that is not inferable from the topographic map.

A number of generalizations can be supported reasonably well on the basis of mapping so far accomplished, even though much must still be classed as "uncovered but not understood".

Variation in connotation is the rule and few exceptions have been noted. Robert C. West, who previously worked out distribution of *bayou* and made a map of its subregional connotations,[4] found it impractical to make a separate region for each connotation, since different applications occur near one another. In the four subregions he outlined he therefore cited three connotations for one subregion and two for two of the others. This may have be done for most of the terms. The author's bayou map corresponds closely with West's, except that West did not encounter the outlying occurrences in New Jersey, Michigan, Nebraska, Montana, California and the false generic in Colorado. His method of working outward from a known center of occurrence was the only practical

[4] The Term "Bayou" in the United States. A Study in the Geography of Place Names. Robert C. West. Annals of the Association of American Geographers. Vol. XLIV, No. 1. March 1954. p. 67.

one for his study, but as was discovered early in this study, it does not catch the distant unsuspected one.

Differing connotations of the same term come about, perhaps oftener than is generally realized, by physical changes in the entity after naming. Islands become tied to the mainland, lakes become full of vegetation or drain off, meander necks become cut off, stream channels are abandoned or are reshaped by man, the flow of streams is profoundly modified by the same agent; beaches and associated features are notoriously unstable. In many cases the names persist after the features lose the characteristic or set of characteristics that the generic connotes. If this happens to several features of the same type in a region the generic may come to connote a somewhat different characteristic, or set, more or less related to the originally connoted one. This has happened to *towhead* although the dictionary definitions give no indication of it. They say it is a river island or shoal, especially with cottonwoods on it; or a shoal indicated by white ripples or foam. Editions of topographic maps based on surveys spaced several years apart show that a number of towheads that are now part of the river bank used to be islands. The distribution map shows that it is a Mississippi River term, restricted to the main river though similar features undoubtedly occur elsewhere on the Mississippi bottoms, which together with the fact that it occurs on the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers but not on the western tributaries, suggests a rivermen's term.

Chute is another Mississippi term, this one obviously French and applied generally to cut-off channels behind islands, the name being frequently Chute of Island so-and-so. Varying connotations along the Mississippi appear to be the result of physical changes. The Wisconsin examples along the river, however, include distributaries of the Black River, and Jerry Chute on the Thunder Mtn. quadrangle is a rapid or fall, which is the common French-Canadian connotation as exemplified by Red Chute, some 80 miles north of Ottawa. The California example is Manzanita Chute in Lassen Volcanic National Park, a dry sloping area.

Coulee, equally French and with a distribution pattern more like that of other French terms, namely a great arc from Louisiana up the Mississippi – along the rivers across the northern plains – over the mountains – and (though not in the case of coulee) down

into northern California, is most commonly applied in the Columbia basin to a steep-walled, flat-floored former glacial meltwater channel with now no better than an underfit stream in it. In the northern plains it is like the "creeks." The upper Mississippi River coulees are short steep tributaries. The Louisiana ones have natural levees. The only occurrences of coulee as a false generic are adjacent to areas where it is a true generic. This is what was expected to happen in the case of most terms but didn't.

It was fortunate that there occurred on one of the first maps carded a term unfamiliar in a topographic connotation, *folly*, in an island name, The Folly, that might have such a meaning since there was no other explanation suggested by the map context. The first source consulted, the *Dictionary of American English* (DAE), gave a broad definition that could apply, "A topographical term of varying meaning, common in place names in England." The several volumes published by the British Place Name Society confirmed the occurrence in that country, but left both etymology and connotation up in the air. The special contribution of that early encounter was that it led to questioning of many other terms that might otherwise have been passed over, and to a profitable detour into glossaries of British terms and into processes of name evolution in Britain that have their counterparts in the United States.

The arrangement of the terms on the card in the process of listing was primarily for convenience in finding the terms for mapping. A second consideration was that when a term was applied to features of a class other than the usual one for that term the fact would show on the card. *Cove*, *creek* and some others were known to do so. It turned out that the second consideration was the important one. Nearly all of the wetland terms are also applied to watercourses and vice versa, practically all the terms for spring are applied to watercourses, watercourse terms to coastal waters, and so on. This is well illustrated by *lake*, one of the more widely dispersed generics.

Although alternative terms are certainly not lacking for small impounded waterbodies the great majority are named lakes. So are several other things. Conversely, many terms for standing waterbodies ordinarily apply to something else. The greatest variation occurs along the coast in names of bodies of open water in wetland or marsh, or of lagoons wholly or nearly enclosed.

Fairly typical of the variation in terminology of widely occurring features, 80 different toponymic generics were recorded in names of standing waterbodies in states bordering the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico, together with Arizona and New Mexico. They are: lake, pond, reservoir, reserve, lac, tarn, inside pond, outside pond, tide pond, oyster pond, lily pond, frog pond, mill pond, factory pond, sand pond, great pond, mud pond, mill lake, big lake, alkali lake, salt lake, dry lake, sunk lake, dead lake; river, bayou, deadwater, dead river, old river, coulee, drain, ditch; slough, vly, fly, marsh, meadow, prairie, brake, quag, alderbed, marais, breaks?, slash, cyprerier, bog, cienega; bay, sound, lagoon, laguna, estero, cove, harbor, old bay, ocean, sea, baie; sink, hollow, hole, basin, picket, punkhole, mudhole, duckhole; flat, blind, moulier; horseshoe, bend, cutoff, elbow, eddy, widewater; flowage, flow, deadening; puddle, pool; tank, tanque; spring, saline; lago, and loch; dam was reported in the literature but not found on the maps.

Pond is also widely distributed over the eastern half of the country and ubiquitous in the extreme northeast; but uncommon in the west. *Pond* in New England is gradually losing ground to *lake*. A number of instances are of record where the change was made because in the local opinion lake "sounded nicer" or was "too big for a pond". Local opinion, often spearheaded by a local minority, has been known to spring from a feeling that a commercial venture would be more successful if the name of some natural feature involved were more attractive. In the case of the cottage proprietor on Dishwater Pond this was probably true.

Rincon has essentially the distribution typical of Spanish terms, though with less frequency than some of the others. The false generics in the Coast Ranges are from land grant names. The false generic in South Carolina is a town name, Rincon, and one near the Canadian border is Rincon Creek. One might guess that these were names left by Spaniards in those areas rather than terms carried by Americans later. It would not be surprising if the local people in those two areas have no clear idea what a *rincon* is. It would also not be surprising if some of the people in areas where it occurs as a true generic were not too clear about all its meanings either. Literally "corner," and usually defined as an angular reentrant in higher land with rimming cliffs, in New Mexico it is also a ridge and a tributary valley, and in south Texas is an angle of coastal lowland.

Colorado seems to have an extraordinary variety of toponymic generics imported from all parts of the country. The great influxes of treasure seekers probably had something to do with it. Oklahoma, however, literally settled with a rush, has far less variety.

Generally the areas of relatively unbroken or unvarying terrain have little variety in generics; the areas of either vertically or horizontally complex terrain have not only generics for more kinds of features but also more generics for a given kind of feature. Small features are given a greater variety of terms than large features, if for no other reason than that the large-feature terms have a wider spread and there are fewer large features.

Each major protected indentation or much indented section along the Atlantic coast has its own cluster of terms, including one or more not often used (at least in the same connotation) outside the area. The Bath, Me. area has *gurnet* for a narrow passage through which the tide at certain stages runs so strong that small boats cannot pass through; Buzzards Bay has *hole* for a narrow passage between islands; Long Island Sound has *hammock* for islands; Jamaica Bay on Long Island's south shore has *hassock* for marsh islands and *pol* for an island not marshy; Chesapeake Bay has *tump* and *broad* for marsh island and estuary respectively, behind Atlantic City are *thorofare* for a winding channel and *tide pond* for an open water area in a marshy lagoon, the end of the Mississippi delta has *inside pond* and *outside pond*, and so on. A possible explanation is that these are terms developed by local boatmen who do not venture far afield, and apply to features to which reference need rarely be made by the sailor of ships.

The occurrence of *thrumcap* on the shore of the Delaware River suggests that an offshore feature term may be carried farther afield, for *thrumcap* is a Maine term applied to a few offshore islands with conifers. Thrum,according to Merriam's New International Dictionary (NID), is "(1) *Weaving: a* One of the ends of weavers' warp threads. *b* The fringelike row of such threads on the loom when the web has been cut free. *c* Any soft, short threads, tufts or fringes. (2) Hence, any mass of hairs on an animal, or fibers or threadlike leaves on a plant, which suggest thrum. (3) Any loose coarse yarn waste. (4) pl. Naut. Tufts, or short pieces of rope yarn used in thrumming canvas". The word thrum is no longer in the vocabulary of any Maine coast residents queried by the

author, and as the word has passed out of common knowledge the pronunciation has become "thumbcap," and any function the word may have had as a designator of islands with particular characteristics seems to have disappeared. The fact that it was not applied to all islands in the region that would qualify suggests that such distinction never did have practical significance, in which case it would be logical for a resemblance-name to evolve as this one has. No pertinent definitions were found for most such terms.

Brake is a toponymic generic of the Yazoo Basin and the bottom lands of the lower Sabine, Red, Arkansas and White Rivers with an outlier region in eastern La.-Miss., a quite restricted range. This term is particularly interesting in view of the difficulty of matching recorded occurrences with definitions. According to the New International Dictionary (Webster) *brake* is probably of Low German origin; in Middle Low German *brake* meant bushes, probably originally the growth on rough, broken grounds, from the root of English *break*, the verb. The NID definition is: a thicket; a dense growth of shrubs or brushwood. The Dictionary of American English notes that it occurs in English before 1600 A. D. and defines it as: 1. a thicket or copse; an area covered with bushes, briers, reeds, etc. 2. (an American application) a canebrake. McJimsey[5] cites the Oxford English Dictionary and defines *brake* as a clump of bushes, brushwood or briers. McMullen[6] cites the DAE buts omit the "thicket or copse" part.

The examples on the maps are admittedly of a class difficult to interpret from a topographic sheet, but they appear to be most often old cutoff meanders or channels with the wetland symbol but no standing water. Brake also is applied to a stream in a narrow strip of wetland, a stream without wetland, and an oxbow lake called Old Cypress Brake with no wetland symbol. All this may go to prove only that the author doesn't know much about brakes, but it is submitted that both the term and the wetland symbol are ambiguous.

The NID, which does not equate brake with canebrake, defines

[5] McJimsey, George Davis. Topographic Terms in Virginia. American Speech. Reprints and Monographs, No. 3. New York, Columbia Univ. Press. 1940. p. 48.

[6] McMullen, E. Wallace, Jr. English Topographic Terms in Florida 1563–1874. Gainesville. Univ. of Florida Press. 1953. p. 77.

the latter as: a thicket of canes, esp., in the southern United States, a dense growth of the giant cane. No instance of canebrake as a toponymic generic was recorded, and only two or three instances of false generic occurrence, though the term is in everyday use as a common noun.

Wash, for instance, appears to be remarkably uniform in application. To be sure, the features with this term that are distant from the core area are quite different things, but within the core practically all the things called "washes" can probably be covered by a single definition since they appear to have essentially the same origin and have common critical appearance characteristics.

Alternatives are relatively few and localized for *spring*, though the feature is one of the most widespread. *Fountain*, *seep*, *ojo*, *ojito*, *hole*, *saline*, and *lick* as local alternatives do not completely replace *spring* even within their localized areas.

Brook, a solidly New England term for minor watercourses, in its widely scattered occurrences sticks fairly close to the New England concept of a small, short, perennial, fairly high gradient, clear stream in hilly or mountainous terrain, though some have trouble with the clearness qualification. Some of the scatterings, however, are in terrain that provides little similarity, notably one on Pamlico Sound, one in central Kansas, and one in the northern part of peninsula Florida. The occurrences in the lake states would undoubtedly be more numerous but for the gaps in the mapped area. This term has wider use as a false generic than any other generic ordinarily applied to watercourses. In fact, there are numerous instances of a brook-something-or-other on the banks of a watercourse called a creek. *Brook*, thanks to the power of literature, has that "nice" or "pleasant" connotation.

Stream presents interesting contrasts. Its core area shown in solid green is not merely restricted to New England, it is really "down east" in Maine and northern New Hampshire. Its scatter area starts out like *brook* but seems not to have stood the westward migration well. Only two examples are recorded in the lake states, one in Colorado, where one finds some of almost everything, one in Utah in an unlikely setting, one each in California and Washington.

In Maine and northern New Hampshire the term connotes the middle sized watercourse smaller and shorter than a river in that

region, larger and longer than a brook. The *river — stream — brook* pattern has strikingly little variation in the core area.

Heath as a true generic was recorded only in Maine, and there chiefly in the eastern corner where it occurs frequently. It is applied to poorly drained flat upland areas, at least one of which looks something like Alaskan muskeg. The surface of one near Cherryfield that was examined is hummocky, the vegetation low shrubs with abundant sphagnum and a clump of trees that at a distance look like black spruce. One could not cross it dry shod. It may be that the limited range of the term is associated with restricted area of occurrence of the feature. A false generic occurrence near Richmond, Virginia, may be a surname, though the occurrence of *brook* and of flat, wet low upland in this area would make a topographic connotation not entirely illogical.

Pocoson appears to be much like heath in its topographic setting though unlike in vegetation association. Its range as a true generic is limited to the Carolinas and Virginia. False generic occurrence in the Appalachian ridge and valley region may indicate that the Indians used the term in a broader sense, or that in the process of spread by English speakers it shifted connotation. Many terms have done so.

Slough is of special interest in several connections. It has a wide range of both occurrence and connotation, but it was recorded only once in New England and few New Englanders knew the term. The three who did, pronounced it to rhyme with *cow*. The rest hesitated, guessed; none guessed it to rhyme with *grew*. The features to which the term is applied are varied indeed, including natural and artificial standing waterbodies with or without vegetation and with or without outlets, winding channels through coastal wetlands, large and small flowing waterbodies with or without associated wetland and of all degrees of gradient, coastal and river coves, and even underwater channels through sand bars. Quite different connotations may be used in the same area, as on the Bath, N. C. quadrangle where Beachman Slough is an underwater channel and Cupler Sloughs are wetlands or the streams that flow through them or both.

Most of the Dutch terms failed to spread far from the core area, though kill is applied to a stream in Kansas and to one on the Oregon-Idaho border. *Vlei — vly — fly* was not found, except for in-

stances of *fly* that appear not to be the Dutch term, west of the Appalachians. Flea Point in North Carolina, in an area where Dutch origin names are common, in fact it is on the Vandemeer sheet, may be drained wetland for which *vlei* or *vly* would not have been inappropriate, but one would have to go back to the old maps or historical records to establish or disprove any connection. The Dutch terms also seem not to have proliferated greatly. *Gut*, from Dutch *gat*, (cf. Barnegat, N. J.) has the widest range both of occurrence and connotation of this group but even for this term they are not great. In occurence *gut* ranges from Maine to Louisiana along the seaboard, with two small core areas — one the fringe of the Delmarva Peninsula, the other in the Pamlico Sound area.

In the core areas the prevailing connotation seems to be a short low gradient watercourse tributary to tidewater, sometimes embayed, and sometimes the estuary of such a stream or a cove like such an estuary. In some cases along the coast *gut* is applied to a narrow passage. Spencer Gut, a short gorge on the Spencer, Me. map, has a counterpart on the Poughkeepsie, N. Y. quad, although the name on the latter might be inferred to apply to the whole valley instead of the gorge. This is another instance where possible ambiguity might be avoided if there were generally known a regional connotation of *gut* as a short gorge. Otherwise one might assume that the name applies to the entire length of the watercourse. As a matter of fact, it is possible that that is the local and intended connotation.

The only places where toponymic generics from languages other than English seem to predominate are parts of the Mississippi delta, south Texas, north central New Mexico, and some Indian reservations. The occurrence of names with such generics but with English specifics, e. g., (Crooked Arroyo) suggests that those generics are being assimilated into the American vocabulary. The opposite combination, English generics with non-English specifics, e. g., (Hondo River) suggests rejection. It would be interesting to know whether generics assimilated under such circumstances are generally used to distinguish a particular kind of feature or are applied indiscriminately.

Two major flowing waterbodies head near each other. Both named by Spanish speakers, both names Spanish in specific and generic. One is now the Colorado River, the other the Rio Grande.

Why did the one get changed, the other not? The answer may shed some light on the distribution of all the Spanish-derivation generics in the United States.

There are many kinds of natural features for which the professional vocabulary provides no convenient one-word term and the layman's vocabulary offers a variety with none widely used. Some of these have been mentioned. Examples that come to mind are an island wholly of marsh, a low flat island subject to inundation, an island cliffed on the seaward side, a channel through wetland connecting two bodies of open water, a tidal watercourse wholly in wetland and not connecting two waterbodies, a body of open water in coastal wetland, an abandoned stream channel, a perennial mountain torrent, and a large island. The list might be extended at length. Standard, generally accepted terms for some of these would be useful. The experience of some of the most erudite term-coiners in our disciplines has generally been that it is easier to propose terms than to accept someone else's terms. Perhaps the missing ingredient has been an understanding of language and speech habits[7]. In any event it should do no harm to try to focus such understanding on the process.

A gifted scholar, George R. Stewart, applied something of that sort of understanding ten years ago in his *Names on the Land*[8], a book to which the author is deeply and continually indebted.

The discriminator value of most toponymic generics is probably slowly decreasing. The tendency of words, toponymic generics and others, to proliferate in meaning may be taken as established. The tendency of toponymic generics to change connotation with introduction into a new region, the relative popularity of some terms and unpopularity of others, the increasing urbanization and mobility of the population, man's physical alternation of natural features, the gradual breaking down of regional isolation and of regional cultural patterns, greatly increased mass-communication, decreasing preoccupation with the minor obstacles to movement and activity posed by the natural environment, the leveling of American language habits, perhaps even the standardizing activities

[7] Geographical Review. XIV (1924) p. 660. A reference to *Short Stories of America,* by Robert L. Ramsey. Boston 1921.

[8] Stewart, George R. Names on the Land. New York. Random House. 1945.

of the Board on Geographic Names and state groups, all lead in the direction of less discriminatory application of toponymic generics.

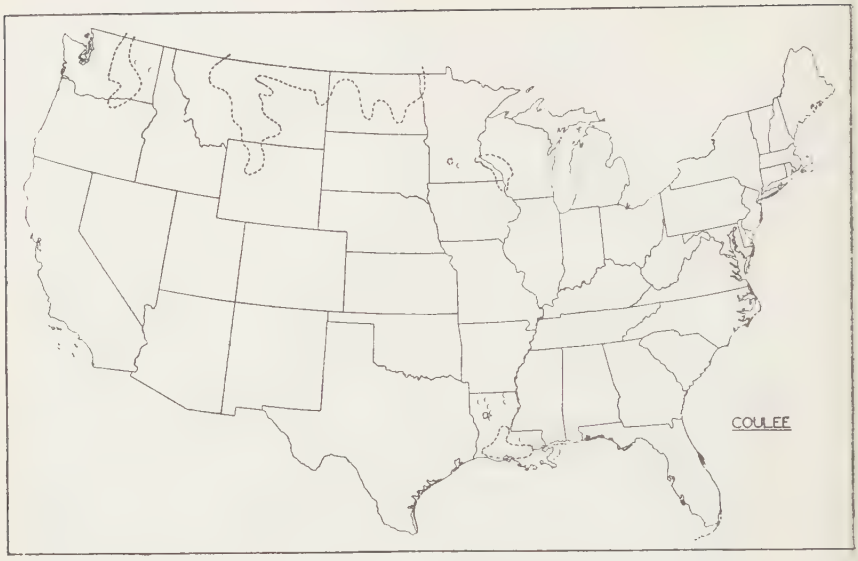
The evidence seems to point to a shrinking number of toponymics generics along with decreasing discriminator values. Many terms still in use in the British Isles have dropped out completely and others are fossils like thrumcap, folly and hope, preserving the form but not the substance.

About two years ago, finding Townshend's statement in 1890[9] that *pokeloken* was a term for a cove or backwater off a river commonly used in Maine, and having never heard the word, an inquiry was dispatched to my father, a lifelong resident of that state, who fished in countless inland waters and hunted in every section. He never heard of *pokeloken*, would call such a thing a *logan*; his father used to say *bogan*. No *pokeloken* was recorded but on a subsequent visit to the Bay of Fundy *Pocologan* was encountered in the name of a village, a bay, and a river. A few logans and bogans were recorded in northern Maine and both occur sporadically as a false generic all over the country. Other words used by my grandfather's generation have probably gone, too, unnoticed by my generation. Infrequency of occurrence as a false generic may indicate a shrinking area of application or relatively discriminatory application to a kind of feature not widely distributed. It may, of course, signify neither.

The problem posed at the beginning of this paper calls for a reversal of such a trend. Can it be done? Perhaps, if steps can be outlined with sufficient understanding of the problem and of people and their ways so that the steps make sense.

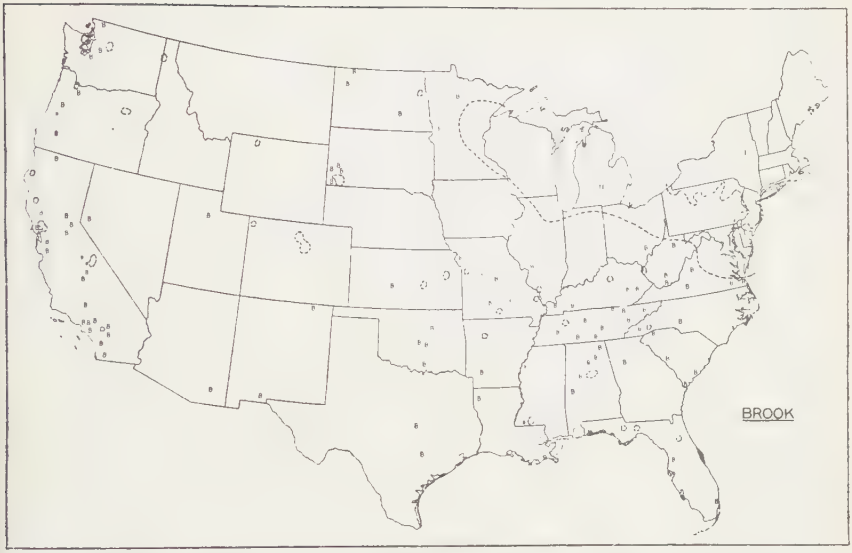
The maps of the national parks have a large number of generics. Since natural features in the parks are referred to by name with extraordinary frequency, those of any significance are named, and variety tends to increase with numbers. This is probably not the whole story, however, for the naming in the parks seems to have been done in the fashion of commercial cave owners to a greater extent than is true of naming in their regions generally.

[9] Townshend, Malcolm. An Index to the U. S. A. Historical, Geographical and Political. A handbook of reference combining the "curious" of the U. S. 482 pp. Published in Boston by Lothrop in 1890. Has maps and illustrations.



Coulee has a different connotation in each of the four regions in which it is recorded. In the larger areas within the dashed lines the term occurs on many maps. Small ovals indicate one or two maps. False generic occurrence outside frequent true generic occurrence areas is shown by initial letters.

Rincon occurs often as a false generic in names of land grants in California.



Brook occurs on nearly all of the topographic maps in area I and frequently in area II. Recorded occurrence as a true generic is more widely scattered than in case of most regionally-concentrated terms. Wide occurrence as a false generic may be associated with a "pleasant" connotation.

Wash has a relatively uniform connotation in its principal region of occurrence.

It is regrettable in retrospect that it was not done with more of an eye to the interpretation of nature to the millions who come to see and hear. Perhaps in a new park, or in the less developed part of present ones, there are unnamed features that could be given names with generics carefully selected with a view to standard connotations of layman's terms as well as the professional's generic terms. If the features could serve as type examples of the generics used in their names, the parks might be an effective theater for connecting concept and type example in the minds of many people from all walks of life from all over the country. It is the author's belief that it would also facilitate interpreting the features to the general public.

It is readily apparent at this stage that there are distinct nomenclature regions, and many subregions, each with a reasonably homogeneous complex of generic terms and applications. Although boundaries will not be drawn until near the conclusion of the study, it appears that many will coincide closely with the division between land form regions or cultural regions or both. Other boundaries appear to cross such divisions, although a coincidence with the boundaries of earlier cultural regions may be found.

It is entirely possible that the widely scattered examples of some terms usually thought to be restricted to a single region may be traced to a relatively small number of enthusiastic and peripatetic name givers, rather than to sizable groups of people with the same nomenclatural experience and habit.

Nomenclature regions of the United States, if well done, can be useful to various disciplines. It is of principal concern here that they can help one to comprehend more readily patterns of nomenclature that have been seen before only dimly or fragmentally.

Analysis of the train of events by which the distribution of individual terms or groups of terms came about will undoubtedly shed new light on the name-giving and name-evolving process. Eventually we or our successors may fully understand them. Certainly we will know better what we are talking about if we know better what the other fellow is talking about. If we understand what his words mean to him and if we agree on a series of unambiguous terms for an area within our disciplines, we have taken at least two small steps toward clearer communication.

Sugarloaf

ERWIN G. GUDDE

The American of the present generation associates the term "sugarloaf" with a conical or conoidal hill or mountain. The reason for this strange generic topographical term is unknown to most people because the object from which the name is derived has long since disappeared from the typical American scene. It is still found in some foreign countries and in a few foreign communities in our own country.

In my boyhood in eastern Europe a sugarloaf was still a familiar object wrapped in heavy blue paper and tied with a strong cord. Since the beginning of the sugar industry in the middle ages crystallized sugar seemed to have been formed into a conoidal shape for export, the loaf about three feet high and weighing around twenty pounds. Even sugar prepared for retail trade imitated this form; in China (and even in San Francisco's Chinatown) these small conoids for family consumption can still be bought in stores. In most countries, however, granulated or cube sugar has now replaced the "loaf."

Since the form of the "sugarloaf" differs from what is and was generally known as a "loaf," it is quite possible that sugar was originally packed in the shape of a loaf like bread. But since the middle of the sixteenth century we have evidence of the conoidal shape of the loaf. (See the reproduction of a Flemish painting in E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, Berlin, 1929). All western European languages seem to use the equivalent of "loaf" for this shape, except the Germans. In older German the word *Zuckerbrot* (literally "sugar-bread," but here referring only to the shape into which bread is formed) can be found occasionally, but the generally accepted term is *Zuckerhut*. Before paper could be manufactured at a reasonable price sugar loaves were packed in palm leaves, and the wrapping was called *cappello di palma*, a 'hat made of palm leaves.' Hence the German applied the name of the outer shell to the content itself.

A sugarloaf among the grocer's wares was so conspicuous and became so familiar that people soon applied the term sugarloaf to all kinds of objects which resembled its shape. The Oxford Dictionary lists no less than nineteen such objects, from sugarloaf button to sugarloaf yew. A very common application was the one to a conical hat, which was the fashion in various periods and in various countries. Among the strangest applications is the one to the little peaked waves on a calm sea, which English sailors called (or still call) sugarloaves and French sailors *pains de sucre*. Practically all of these transfer names are now obsolete except one – the toponymic term used both as a specific as well as a generic. We find isolated examples of this in practically all countries, but in the United States it has become a widespread and still actively used name for orographic features. Our topographical maps are dotted with sugarloafs, i. e. hills and peaks which resemble (with the necessary dose of imagination) the old shape of bulk sugar. When the name is used alone it is often spelled Sugar Loaf, but when it is used with a generic like hill, mountain, creek, point, etc., the spelling is ordinarily Sugarloaf. Among our members who are at present engaged in the study of American toponymic generics – Burrill, McMullen, Zelinski and others – one will doubtless soon present us with a contribution concerning the frequency, geographical distribution, and spelling variations of our many sugar loafs.

According to the Oxford Dictionary, the word "Sugyrlaffe" is mentioned as early as 1422. The oldest known reference to its application to an orographic feature occurs in Richard Eden, *The decades of the newe worlde or West India in 1555*: "Teneriffa is a greate hyghe pike lyke a sugar lofe." Since then Tenerife, as well as similar peaks such as Gibraltar and Cotopaxi, have been repeatedly likened to a sugarloaf.

Of the peaks which actually bear the name the best known is of course the *Pão d'Açúcar* at the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. The highest, as far as I could ascertain is the *Zuckerhütl*, rising about 10,500 feet in the Stubaier Alps in Austria. The Italians, who can see the peak across the border, call it *Pan di Zucchero*. The best known peak bearing the French version of the name, *Pain de Sucre*, is the famous mariner's landmark on Haiti. Many of our sugarloafs from Maine to California are well known, and some

have interesting stories behind their naming. But the elevation which became dear to the American heart during the second world war is not within the borders of the United States. It is Sugar Loaf Hill in Okinawa, stormed after severe fighting by the Marines on May 19, 1945.

It seems strange that our reference works fail to give us any information concerning the topographical name Sugarloaf. Only the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1913) defines the name as "a high conical hill." All other dictionaries and encyclopedias which I consulted either fail to list the word at all, or they define it as a conical shape, or they give one or several isolated instances of peaks called Sugarloaf. This is also true of the leading encyclopedias of France and Germany. The *Grande Encyclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* mentions a peak called *Pão de Açúcar* on the island of Santo Antão but ignores the mighty "sugarloaf" at Rio!

★ ★ ★

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT ETC.

(Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946.)

County of Alameda } ss
State of California }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Erwin G. Gudde, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of *Names*, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher etc. are Publisher, American Name Society, 2407 Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley 4, Calif. Editor, Erwin G. Gudde, 137 Crest View Drive, Orinda, Calif.
2. That the owner is: American Name Society, Inc., 2407 Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley 4, Calif., a non-profit organization.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other ecurity holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

[Signed] Erwin G. Gudde, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of October, 1956

[Signed] Edith L. Dmith
Notary Public

[seal]

News, Comments, Queries

The Mary Glide Goethe Prize for 1955 was awarded to William E. Mockler for his contribution, *Surnames of Trans-Allegheny Virginia, 1750–1800*, published in the March and June, 1956, issues of *Names*. Mr. Mockler is a charter member of the *ANS*, and a member of the faculty of the University of West Virginia. It is essentially the doctoral dissertation completed under the direction of Francis L. Utley at Ohio State University. The prize, established by our sustaining member, Charles M. Goethe, is awarded annually for an outstanding contribution in onomastics.

Geart Droege, our charter member and contributor to *Names*, has been elected a member of the Frisian Academy, chiefly in recognition of his significant contributions to the nomenclature of Friesland.

Street Names. – Our charter member, Levette J. Davidson, University of Denver, Denver 10, Colorado, is working on a book concerning the origin and significance of street names. He would welcome information on the subject, including bibliographical references.

Ants. – One of the blessings in our world of nationalistic ferment is the international nomenclature in natural sciences. American scholars are sometimes handicapped in this respect because our universities (unlike European institutions) do not require several years of instruction in Latin in order to become a physician or a pharmacist, a botanist or a zoologist. Scholarly dictionaries, giving the origin, meaning, and pronunciation, of such names in the various fields of natural science are of great value and importance. George C. Wheeler, professor of Biology at the University of North Dakota, assisted by Demetrius J. Georgacas, a member of our editorial board, has undertaken to standardize the names in his special field. His dictionary of the generic names of ants, *Myrmecological Orthoëpy and Onomatology*, is an excellent piece of work and could serve as model for similar projects.

Book Reviews

Diccionario etimológico comparado de nombres propios de personas By Gutierre Tibón (Mexico: Unión Tipográfica Editorial Hispano Americana, 1956. PP vii-x, 565, with 233 illustrations.)

The publication of this work is a major event in the advance of onomastics in general and of Spanish name-study in particular. In the large number of books and shorter studies that have dealt with names, place-names and family names have predominated, and the proper names or "Christian" names have gone begging. This *Diccionario etimológico* will therefore fill a considerable gap in such knowledge and at the same time furnish a useful reference work.

The book contains an alphabetical list of over 2,800 first names (author's figures), each with a discussion showing the etymology and earlier forms in other languages, mainly Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Reference then often follows to well-known bearers of the name – predominantly saints of the Church. In some cases there appear other data, such as occasion in connection with which a certain name may be given, *e. g. Corpus*, or circumstances that help explain the diffusion of a name, *e. g. Corina*. At times the corresponding forms in English, French, Italian, and other languages are given. Notations in many entries tell us the confines of a given name (Moctezuma, confined to Mexico; Zaragoza, used in Coahuila; Lesbia, a common name among the women of Tehuantepec; Lautaro in South America, etc.).

The title does not limit the author's purpose to the Spanish language; and the volume can also serve as a reference work for the study of names in other languages which have cognates with the Spanish, since they are the common stock of all nations of the Occident.

While over 2,800 names appear, the author warns us that he has omitted some Biblical, classical, and historical names no longer used or rarely, some saints' names, and a few oddities. Indeed, a check against my own studies reveals no omissions that can be called common. There is no way to tell from the entries in the book which names are more popular than others, although intimations appear for the most common names. This treatment of the entries

comes partly from the fact that very little statistical information exists, although the broad outlines are clear. A good many of the names are quite rare; hence I suggest some names (attested in 19th century Mexico) which do not appear but for which provision could well be made: Alocino, Alsabrán, Areo, Asencio, Eurelio, Felice, Frontanza, Isio, Lucón, Marcel, María (for males), Melgares, Murgario, and Polanco, and the variant forms Eulario, Matildo, Tibercio, and Valdemiro.

Essentially, however, this book is just what its title suggests, an etymological dictionary. The easiest names to etymologize are those of Latin origin, and the first impression for a linguist on examining the etymologies is the disharmony between the Latin-to-Spanish development of names and the "regular" Romance development of other words. For Latin *Crispus* we would "normally" anticipate **Criespo* instead of *Crispo*, for Donatus we look for *Donado* instead of *Donato*, and for Plautus we look for **Llodo* but find *Plauto*. Some other names show the normal development (*César*, *Nieves*, *Paciente*, *Socorro*, etc.) or a continuation of the same form (*Tecla*, *Digna*, *Elvia*, *Fortuna*, *Fosca*, *Gloria*, etc., mostly feminine forms). But all of these names presumably were a part of the original Spanish patrimony and not the "learned" or "late" Latin words that re-entered the language at a late date, thereby escaping the standard sound changes. Obviously we need a separate study for the diachronic development of this type of word. In most histories of Spanish phonetics the proper names receive scanty treatment, possibly because of the relatively small number of names of purely Latin origin. It seems that far more names are of Greek or Hebrew origin than of Latin. This impression is further strengthened by an examination of a few pages of the names themselves in the present work. They show a wide divergence from the Spanish norms, with a high incidence of oxytones, proparoxytones, and consonantal clusters that in the rest of the language have a low frequency.

Many illustrations, reproductions of art works picturing persons whose names are discussed nearby, furnish a welcome relief. The book is well-printed, has an attractive cover, and the contents show a careful work of proof-reading. The only mis-print noted appears in the last line of the last page — Heidelberg.

Jack Autrey Dabbs

Nuovi Studi di Antroponimia Fiorentina. I Nomi meno Frequenti del Libro di Montaperti (An. MCCLX). By Olof Brattö. (Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksell, 1955. Pp. 246.)

In his *Studi di Antroponimia Fiorentina. Il Libro di Monteaperti (An. MCCLX)*, Göteborg, 1953[1], Professor Brattö discusses the names of most common occurrence in the Montaperti book, specifically those that have a frequency of five or more. These constitute 80% of the total list. In this continuation he considers those that have a four to one frequency, or the other 20%. They amount to 771. Diachronic and synchronic criteria are used in both volumes but application and procedure differ radically. Professor Brattö recognizes the fact that he is confronted with numerous difficulties particularly since rareness in the occurrence of a name is apt to make knotty tasks of attempts at explanation. Some of the interpretations which I have queried in whole or in part are the following:

p. 12. *Acconcius*, derived from the verb *acconciare*. The name of the Roman martyr *Acontius* should have been added as a source.

p. 21. *Altieri*, from the common noun *altero, altiero*. Possible derivation from Germanic *Althar, Altheri* is omitted (cfr. E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. Erster Band, Personennamen. 2nd ed. Bonn, 1900, p.61).

p. 31. *Baldera*, from a place name or *Baldissera*. But Germanic *Baldheri, Balthere* (see Förstemann, op. cit. 231) also deserve consideration.

p. 43. *Bonasco*, from *buono* or a place name. The second explanation is definitely to be preferred. Bonaschi is a common surname in use today.

p. 46. *Bonavaccius*, from *buono* + *avaccio* (adverb). The combination is awkward. Why not derive the name from *bon* + *avo, avaccio* (grandfather)?

p. 56. *Canci*, from *Cancellerius*. One thinks of *St. Canzio* as a more likely prototype.

p. 58. *Cappiardinus*, from *cappia, ferro di cavalli*, or *cappio, corda, funicello*. The difficulty here is the combination of a common noun with *-ard*, a theme common in Germanic proper names. The source is probably Germanic.

p. 63. *Cavatorta*, possibly a person living in a *cava torta*. In Neapolitan a *cavatorta* is a wryneck. I see nothing against a recently arrived immigrant retaining the dialectical form of his nick-

[1] Cfr. my review in *Names*, II, 1954, 67–68.

name. There has always been a certain amount of migration to other lands.

p. 74. *Ciore*, a short form of a name in *-ciore*. An unmentioned possibility is *Melciore* through French *Melchior*. That the name *Melchiore* had already entered Tuscan territory is attested by the existence of a Cardinal Melchiore who died in Pisa in 1198.

p. 78. *Convenevole*. As an example of the persistence of this name in the 14th century, the famous rhetor Connvenevole da Prato could have been cited.

p. 89. *Desta*, from *destare*. If feminine I see in the same a curtailed form of *Modesta* = *Desta*.

p. 111. *Gerbinus*, from a common noun or Germanic short form of *Gerbaldus*. However, Bongioanni, *Nomi e Cognomi*. Torino, 1928, 109, more plausibly derives the name from Germanic *Garoino*, *Gerwin*, *Gervinus*.

p. 121. *Giovanomus*, from *Giovanni* + *uomo*. The combination is most unusual. I should guess it comes from *giovan* + (young) *uomo*.

p. 122. *Goccia*, from *goccia*. *Arrigo* + *-occia*, shortened to *Goccia*, seems just as convincing to me.

p. 137. *Imbonus* is compared with a hypothetical *Torna-imbonus*. A current name which is a closer source is Belliboni. The variant *bellin* + *bonus* could lead to *imbonus*. Cfr. also *Imbonati*.

p. 139. *Laffus*, from *Landolfus*, *Lanfrancus*, *Lanfredus*. However, it is pretty safe to assume that it derives from *Ordelaffus*. The Ordelaffi were lords of Forli in the late Middle Ages. Ordelaffo, the founder of the family, lived c. 1170.

p. 167. *Nommai*, augurial. *Nonmai* is listed in my *Our Italian Surnames*, p. 66. It is still current.

p. 168. *Nuvolone*, from *nuvola* or Germanic *Nivolus*. It might be recalled that *Nuvolone* is the name of a pagan king in *Uggero il Danese*, a romance of chivalry.

p. 196. *Scagnus*, from *scagno* = *scanno*. Derivation from *Ascanius* would be equally acceptable.

p. 203. *Tantinus*, from *tantus*. I see in the name a short form of *Costantinus*.

p. 217. *Vante*, a short form of a neme in *-vante*. *Fioravante*, famous knight in the *Reali di Francia*, might have been cited along with *Chiaravante*, *Ottavante*, *Passaavante*, *Renovante*.

Other queries and suggestions can, of course, be added to those I have listed, but considering the number of names studied, the percentage remains small. That Professor Brattö has been able to acquit himself so well is a tribute to his excellent linguistic background and untiring diligence.

Joseph G. Fucilla

A Provisional Gazetteer of Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation Either Obsolescent or Retained Together with Others of Recent Application. By J. Clarence Simpson. Edited by Mark F. Boyd. (Tallahassee: Florida Geological Survey, 1956. Pp. x, 158; 5 sectional maps. One copy (only) is given upon direct request from individuals.)

This is a fascinating volume in spite of its deficiencies, many of which undoubtedly occurred because it was posthumously published and also because the editor receiving the provisional manuscript is not a linguist, as he himself freely admits (p. ix). Students of American Indian terms, local historians, and persons generally interested in Floridiana will profit from the information brought together in this work. Mr. Simpson's book will serve particularly well as a handy guide for anyone doing research in the early literature of exploration and pioneering attempts pertaining to Florida.

The editor, Dr. Mark F. Boyd, an eminent local historian and collector of Floridiana in his own right, has done a creditable job entailing the alphabetical rearrangement of the entries, the alteration of the form for citing references, and the expansion of the bibliography to include all the published Seminole vocabularies known to him. At the same time, although he has left unchanged Mr. Simpson's etymological data and opinions, he has enlarged some of the historical discussions, which, by the way, contain perhaps the liveliest parts of the volume. (In this connection see the stories of Tampa and Blountstown – the latter under Lafarka, the Indian name of John Blount.) As Dr. Boyd points out (p. x), the best single feature of the work is that Simpson compiled the translations of the various names for identical localities from literature and maps rather than the dictionaries. In so doing the author increased the degree of authenticity of his work, and also pin-pointed the location of many obsolete variant names which would otherwise remain unknown to most readers of the earlier

accounts in this field. In this respect the cross references of variants and synonyms are very good, but not exhaustive.

According to the brief introduction to the gazetteer itself, "Entries are limited to names of undoubted aboriginal origin. Names of non-aboriginal derivation are recognized only in synonymy as cross entries, which call attention to the aboriginal names which they have superseded." Yet the gazetteer includes the following names as main entries with discussions: *Cowhouse*, *Hicks' Island* (the Indian chief Tokose Emathla was known to the whites as John Hicks), *Hog Master's Lake*, *Old Town*, and *Watermelon Pond Lake*. (Incidentally, on page 60 we are informed that in 1830 Gainesville was called "Hogtown.") Although these terms have a historical value and are related to the principal task of the author, they belong either in the general introduction or in a supplementary list.

Mr. Simpson's work is quite scholarly in some ways, and unscholarly in others. His investigation does seem to have been thorough – so exhaustive, in fact, that he includes obsolete and prehistoric names along with the current terms. The bibliography appears to be adequate, but it does not include the two volumes on *Indian Affairs* in the *American State Papers*. On the other hand, the rather lengthy cartography, which is given separately from the bibliography, will be helpful to anyone desiring to locate the maps on this subject.

This volume has no footnotes, a feature which will appeal to the general reader; instead, certain authorities are cited in the etymological discussions. However, it seems to me that the work of other scholars are insufficiently cited: I refer in particular to William A. Read's *Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1934 – *Louisiana State University Studies* Number 11).

Simpson's volume also is deficient in other respect. For example, although the sectional maps on which most of the Indian names are located are very good, they do not show the non-Indian names of the present-day counties by which many of the terms in the gazetteer are identified. The cross-reference system should have been exhaustive, and included all of the variant names: thus, the reader would miss a term like *Slippery Log Creek* unless he looked under *Fenhalloway*, or *Rio de Lagna*, which is under *Ochlockonee*.

Another very desirable feature would be a list of the common Indian elements which occur in Florida names, such as *hatchee* (creek; small river), *halpata* (alligator), Hitchiti *oki* and Choctaw *oka* (water), *emathla* (leader), *chee* (little), *talofa* (town), *chubi* (big), and *we* or *wewa* (water).

Nevertheless, aside from these shortcomings, students of place names will find much that is interesting in this gazetteer. To illustrate, according to Simpton *Califonee* is a Seminole word meaning "Home Camp," and is applied to *Califonee slough*; and *California*, which "at least in local application, is perhaps a variant" (p. 34), being found twice each in the forms *California Creek* and *California Swamp*. Other selected terms of interest are *Chunky Pond* (*Chunky* was the name of a Creek gambling game); *Eto-Isallee-Howeth-Ta* (*Eto*, tree; *Estelle*, foot; and *Honleta*, twisted together, or the trees with twisted feet, i. e., red mangrove trees), a name applied to a stream (now called "Broad River") on whose banks are forests of red mangroves — a term with a picturesque quality often hidden or lost in English names: *Hatchee Thlako* (now *Hurricane Creek*) ("This name is from the Creek *Hatchee*, creek, and *Thlako*, big. The present name is also of Indian origin, *hurricane* being derived from *Huracan*, the name of the Storm God of the Quiche Indians, one of the Mayan tribes of Guatemala. Thus it is an introduction [*i. e.*, importation]."); *Hialea* (? Miccosukee-Seminole *Hiatlee*, prairie), said to mean "pretty prairie"; *Lake Hickpochee* (*Hiyakpo*, prairie; *Chee*, little); *Kanyuksa*, the Seminole name for Florida (*Ekan*, land; *Yuksa*, end of it, or point — *i. e.*, "land's end"); *Lokosee* (*Lokose* – Seminole form of Creek *Nokose*, bear); Lake Okeechobee (*Oki*, water; *Chubi*, big); *Okeelanta* (*Oki*, water; Read's suggestion *Lanta* is a contraction of *Atlantic* is cited here); *Okefenoke* (Hitchiti *Oki*, water; Creek *Fenoke*, trembling); *Opal* (Creek *Opa*, owl); *Lake Sampala* (Indian corruption of *San Pablo*); *Tallahassee* (*Talwa*, town; *Ahassee*, old; the variants, *Tallassee* and *Tulsa* occur elsewhere in former Creek territory); *Thlath-To-Popka-Hatchee*, possibly the longest entry in the gazetteer (*Thlathlo*, fish; *Apopka*, place for eating; and *Hatchee*, creek), now Fish-Eating Creek; *Tsalopopka Hatchee* (*Tsala* [*Chalo*]), trout; *Papke*, eating; *Hatchee*, creek; the first element in *Charlie Apopka Creek* is a corruption of *Chalo*, trout); *Wakka Pilatka* (*Wakka*, cow or cattle, from Spanish *Vaca*; *Pilotiketa*, ferry, the

Indian name for Jacksonville, formerly called *Cow Ford*, a misinterpretation of the Indian term because the water at that particular place is too deep for fording; *Weekiwachee* (*Wekiwa*, spring; *Chee*, little); *Weohyakapka* (*We*, water; *Ayakapeta*, to walk in), Lake Walk in the Water, a lake in eastern Polk County – further explanation of this term not given. The names of two extinct Indian tribes, the Timucuans and the Yamassees, are preserved in *Tomoka Creek* and *Yamasee Point.*

Some of the etymologies are of particular interest: *Chuluota* ("The word may signify pine tree, from the Creek *Chule*, pine, and *Eto*, tree. However, I believe the second element is from the creek *Ote*, island. From earliest times in Florida an open area of pine surrounded by hardwoods of other dissimilar vegetation has been called a pine island. The usage is still prevalent among hunters and woodsmen" [p. 44.]); *Lake Okaheepee*, now Lake Jackson ("Lake Jackson is one of Florida's disappearing lakes . . . *Okaheepee* is a Hitchiti word signifying disappearing water, and is derived from Hitchiti *Oki*, water, and *Hiepus*, to go." [p. 80.]); *Seminole* (which Simpson says is of uncertain origin [p. 98], in spite of Read's opinion; and *Suwannee River* (possibly from Spanish *San Juan* which became *Seguana*, or from Creek *Suwani*, echo. "Good echos are a feature of this stream." (p. 201)).

Included in the wealth of historical information published in this volume are brief biographical sketches of some of the better known Indian chiefs like *Emathla* (leader), or (here) Charley Emathla, and *Osceola* (*Asi*, leaves; *Yaholo*, singer; the leaves referred to were used in the preparation of the "black drink").

E. Wallace McMullen

Dictionary of American Family Names. By Elsdon C. Smith. (New York, Harper & Brothers. XXXIV and 244 pp. $4.50).

Since the philological sciences, a century and a half ago, were placed on a solid scholarly basis, the study of the origin, meaning and development of our family names has been carried on assiduously. But this study has been very uneven: in some countries we have more than a dozen dictionaries and other books covering the entire field within its linguistic borders, in others not even serious attempts at breaking the ground have been made. Under these circumstances it requires great courage and self-confidence to

undertake the writing of a dictionary of American family names, for such a task falls only a little short of writing a dictionary of the family names of the world. Elsdon C. Smith has had this admirable courage and self-confidence.

It would be an easy task for anyone slightly familiar with the etymology of family names to point out thousands of mistakes. But it would not be right to do so. No such book can approach even a fair degree of accuracy. I am familiar with most of the dictionaries of family names of limited areas and I have not yet found one about which I could not (if put to the task) write a severe and often devastating criticism. In this category I include recognized standard works such as Heintze-Cascorbi, *Die deutschen Familiennamen* and Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France*. Hence one must be extremely careful in reviewing a book, which includes most European and many other names transplanted to the soil of the United States, and which is based on limited and often doubtful sources. The effort and patience required to create such unique pioneer work deserves praise and consideration.

Now that the book is on the market and published by one of our oldest firms, we are obliged to point out its merits as well as its shortcomings. I shall not go into details but view the book as to its approach to the subject, its method and style, its principles of inclusion and exclusion, and its usefulness to the general reader and to the scholar. In view of the importance of the publication I believe the pages of *NAMES* should be open to other commentators and reviewers who wish to express their opinion.

★ ★ ★

The space alloted to the author by the publisher is entirely inadequate. Dauzat uses 604 pages to list the names of France alone (including Christian names, to be sure). Smith had to limit himself to 244 pages for his list of world-wide compass. The result is that the entries had to be very terse. This extreme condensation often leads to interpretations which the author had probably not intended:

Kivi (*Finn.*) From residence near a stone.
LaBelle (*Fr.*) The handsome man.
Morgenthau (*Ger.*) Morning valley.

Maple, Maples, Mapel, Maypole (Eng.) Dweller at, or near, a maple tree, or at the sign of the Maypole.

Maslanka (*Ukr.*) One who had some characteristics of buttermilk: one who sold buttermilk.

Another shortcoming caused by this exaggerated economy of space is the necessity of lumping together in one entry names which are of entirely different origin. For instance:

Brody, Brodie (*Ir., Scot., Ger., Rus.*) The son of Bruaideadh (fragment); one who came from the barony of Brodie (muddy place), in Moray; one who had an unusual beard; one who came from Brody, in Russia.

Raines, Raine, Raynes, Rains, Reyns (*Eng.*) Descendant of Rain, a pet form of one of the old names beginning with Regen, or Ragin (counsel), or of Rayner (might, army); dweller at a boundary line; dweller at the sign of the frog; one with froglike characteristics.

The author is fully aware of the lack of logic in this method: "This is an incongruity that must be accepted because of limitations of space." Valid as this reason may be, it is doubtful if Mr. Brody or Mr. Raynes learned much about "their names and their national origin." Future editions could easily be improved by untangling such clusters. In many cases this could be done at the expense of other names. Wojciech, Wojciechowicz, Wojciechowski, Wojcik, Wojtas could easily be given in one entry because all five names are Polish and are from the same root.

Finally, this economy of space has made it necessary to omit many names that are familiar to all Americans and some of which loom large in the history and development of our country. By just checking names in my memory against the list in the book I notice the following omissions: Brentano, Cunard, Dana, Debs, Fremont, Goethals, Eichelberger, Gruenther, Halleck, Havemeyer, Milhaud, Monteux, Mooney, Nimitz, Rosecranz, Seaborg, Sealock, Spaatz, Spreckels, Villard, Wedemeyer. A careful checking would doubtless multiply this list manifold. A second edition could supply many of these names, again, if necessary, at the expense of names less well known, like Marangopoulos, Mroz, Ptacek, Xaverius, Yee, Zmuda.

The second great objection which will be raised against the book is the identification of names not by linguistic but by national origin. Elsdon Smith was fully aware of the difficulties which would arise by this method and he tries to explain it in his Intro-

duction: "Some of the difficulties attendant upon designating nationality could have been avoided by merely noting the language from which the name was derived. However, this would not have satisfied many who wished to learn about their names and their national origin." If more space had been allotted to a book which bears such an imposing title, the author would doubtless have used the easy way out by giving both the nationality of the original immigrant as well as the origin of his name. As it is now, the system breaks down completely and more harm than good is done by the author's good intention. This is especially true in the case of international names, biblical and classical names, or names which are alike or very similar in any group of the Indo-European family of languages, and even names from different language groups which by accident look alike or are similar.

The impossibility of giving the correct information about a name by assigning it to "nationality" rather than to etymological origin is further brought out by the fact that "nationality" and linguistic entity are often in complete disagreement. There is no Swiss "nation," much less a Swiss language or a Swiss nomenclature. There are German, French, Italian, and Romansch names in Switzerland, but there are no "Swiss" names except possibly a few dialectal variants. And then there are the many European "nations" which have disappeared and have left nothing except their language or – their names. Many of these, the Basques and the Frisians, the Estonians and the Letts, are fighting for the preservation of their languages and of their personal and geographical names. Many of our American family names come from these sturdy peoples, but since they are not "nations" their names are listed as of the "nationality" within whose political boundaries they live.

A few examples, again based on cursory checking, may illustrate my contention.

The name Gudde is given as German with the meaning "dweller near a bush, or at the sign of the bush." As far as "national" origin is concerned the name might as well be assigned to Dutch or Polish "nationality," but in none of the three "nationalities" does the word have anything to do with a bush or the sign of a bush. Even in the language of its origin, the old Pruzzian, the name does not signify "dweller near a bush", but "dweller in the bush", i. e. in the woodlands.

The name Astor is assigned to English "nationality" with the meaning "descendant of Easter (name given to a child born at Eastertide)". I believe that every American who reads the name will think of the old American family which reaches from John Jacob I, who landed in New York in 1783, to John Jacob VIII or IX, who was recently sued for alimony in a California court. The first Astor came to New York via England and might even have been an English citizen. But he was born in Waldorf, Germany, and his name was Italian: *astore*, 'hawk'. The Astors were one of the many Italian families who crossed the Alps in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and settled in southwest Germany.

The name Moses is assigned to Welch origin and its meaning is "descendant of Moses (saved from the water)." Aaron, Aaronson, Aarons are assigned to English "nationality" and the meaning is 'lofty mountain,' and in the same manner most Biblical as well as classical names are assigned to European nationalities. There are a few exceptions: Katz is of Hebrew "nationality" although the majority of individuals bearing the name are of German "nationality."

Another shortcoming of the book must be recorded. No sources or references are given. The Introduction explains the reasons for this omission. Elsdon Smith is justified in his reasons because the book is chiefly intended for the general reader and not for the scholar. Yet, an onomatologist cannot help feeling somewhat frustrated when he sees the explanation of a name differing completely from what seems to have been established beyond doubt.

A layman will be surprised at the translations of old names: Richard means 'rule, hard'; Hubert: 'mind, bright'; Liubheri: 'dear, army'; Leofsige: 'dear, victory'; Lobau: 'dear, meadow'; Humbold: 'Hun, brave;' Louis: 'hear, fight.' To be sure the Introduction, explains this as follows, "*William*, from *vilja* 'resolution' and *helma* 'helmet,' means 'resolution, helmet' and not 'the resolute helmet' or 'helmet of resolution.' There is no relationship between the two elements; they are merely combined to make a new concept, a man's name." The student of Germanic names will know what the author means by combining two words to form a name "with little or no attention ... to the meaning of the combined name." But what can the general reader do with such information? Fuller explanations and references to standard works would here be

most welcome. But again the limited space doubtless prevented the author from explaining when and where the French name Louis could have meant 'hear' and 'fight,' or why the word 'dear' is variously spelled *liub*, *leof*, *lob*.

Finally it must be mentioned that there are two groups of family names. which may be called "American" in the narrower sense. Indian names, either in the original or in an English version are not mentioned in the Introduction and I could find no example of such names in the dictionary. Since this group is exceedingly small its omission is probably justified. Another group of truly American names, those coined here or adapted to American usage, seems to deserve some space, however. Some of the large number of Pennsylvania German names are listed – but as of German "nationality." Names like Cronkhite, Hoover, Yerkes never existed in Germany.

I repeat, *Dictionary of American Family Names* is a pioneer work, the like of which has never been attempted on such a scale, and errors and shortcomings are naturally inavoidable. With Elsdon Smith's wide knowledge of the subject and his capacity for intellectual work they will become less with each new edition. The best solution, to be sure, would be a thorough revision and a generous allotment of space.

★ ★ ★

After making another check of American family names in my memory against the names listed in the book, I believe that Mr. Smith's *Dictionary* could easily be improved (at least in this respect) without making fundamental changes. A check against *Who's who in America*, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and similar reference works would serve to supply all of the "many unusual but famous and well-known names" which are said to be included and explained. Names like Andrzejewski, I, Kabilunas, Lustgarten, Mraz, Oudheusden, Przybylski, Szczepanski doubtless exist in the United States, but they are not common or famous enough to exclude such names as Anhaeuser, Bierce, Bierstadt, Bonwit, Bryce, Cather, Denver, Dreiser, Fruehauf, Grether, Guggenheim, Herkimer, Kuchel, Knopf, Riesel, Rickenbacker, Rittenhouse, Schoonmaker, Selznick, Studebaker, Sutro, Weyerhaeuser, and many others not listed in the *Dictionary*.

Erwin G. Gudde

Editor's Page

This is the last issue of *Names* for which I sign as responsible editor. When I undertook the publication of the new journal in 1952, at the age of sixty-two, I fully realized that my editorship could be only a temporary one. As soon as the *ANS* could find a suitable successor, I would cheerfully resign. Since y younger philologist has now expressed his willingness to take the position, and since the journal is on a fairly sound basis, I believe I can retire without being suspected of deserting a ship which has not yet unfurled all her sails.

The four years as editor of *Names* have been a source of great pleasure. Although editing a journal is not exactly creative work in the literary sense, it nevertheless requires devoted and sustained application which brings the satisfaction that constructive labor always affords. I have been criticized by some for conducting *Names* too much as a scholarly publication, and by others for accepting too many popular articles. Such criticizm was to be expected. *Names* can not be a strictly academic periodical because the science of onomastics is not a discipline which enjoys the professional support of members of a single department or subject of instruction in American universities. Furthermore, the study of the origin and meaning of names is widely spread among our fellow men who do not belong to academic circles. Hence the editorial policy has to navigate carefully between the Scylla of academic exactness and the Charybdis of popular appeal. If I have succeeded in creating a periodical which is scholarly without being dull and which is interesting without being amateurish I believe I have done my task. The praise and recognition of *Names*, which is far in excess of criticizm and disapprobation, seems to allow this conclusion.

With December 31st, 1956, my tenure as executive secretary of the American Name Society has also come to an end. While I feel a certain regret in giving up the editorship of *Names*, I am happy to be released from my work as secretary of the organization. The American Name Society which sponsors the publication of *Names* is not a scholarly or literary society but a corporation with all the legalistic ballast of an organization which sells oil or promotes real estate developments. To be bound by the iron-clad corporation laws of the state of Illinois was one of the displeasures which accelerated my decision to leave the management of the *ANS* to younger members, who are, let us hope, less sensitive, or else more courageous in facing possible "conflicts with the law."

I believe that *Names* has been definitely established as a national and international periodical in our field of study and interest. I shall continue my efforts to enlarge its prestige and increase its influence to the best of my ability. Our well-tried officers, especially those elected to key positions in the governing board – George R. Stewart, the leading onomatologist in the United States, Fritz Kramer, a young and promising geographer, Madison S. Beeler, a well-known philologist, Elisabeth K. Gudde, a trained librarian and able editor – deserve the support of all members interested in the growth of the Society and its journal.

To all those who have contributed to make *Names* a success I wish to express my sincere appreciation.

Erwin G. Gudde

The copy of the original manuscript of the December issue was lost in the Christmas mail. Except for some delay in the publication of the issue no harm was done; but we were unable to compare the proof sheets with the manuscript of Mr. Dabbs' article. I hope that we have eliminated most of the typographical errors in his article, although the author would doubtless have eliminated some more. In view of the great interest and value of our contributor's essay I hope that our readers will enjoy it in spite of any editorial defections they might discover.

E. G. G.

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New Members and Subscribers

Dr. Moshe Davis, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York 27, N. Y.
Gillis Dupré, 10145 D'Auteuil Avenue, Montreal 12, Canada
Arthur Minton, R. F. D. 3, New Milford, Connecticut
Hidemasa Nishizawa, 1—1, Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan
Professor Louise Hanley, 714½ Third Street, Wausau, Wisconsin
Rabbi Benzion C. Kaganoff, 2708 West Greenleaf, Chicago 45, Illinois
Biblioteka Akademii, Nauk SSSR, Ul. Frunze 11, Moscow 19, USSR
Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania
*Theodore R. Meyer, 3528 Washington Street, San Francisco 18, California
E. M. Loeb, 1565 La Verada Road, Berkeley 8, California
James Sledd, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley 4, Cal.
Edwin H. Bryan Jr., B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu 17, Hawaii
*C. H. Forester, 1066 Park Hills Road, Berkeley, California
*Professor Gordon McKenzie, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley 4, Cal.
C. H. Handschin, 405 Vine Street, Oxford, Ohio

*means sustaining member.

ANS Notes

At the meeting on December 26, 1956, in Washington D. C., Vice president Margaret M. Bryant announced the results of the election of officers for 1957 as follows. President: George R. Stewart; vice presidents: Margaret M. Bryant, J. B. Rudnyćkyj, T. M. Pearce; executive secretary: Fritz Kramer; Board of Managers: E. W. McMullen, Jack A. Dabbs; treasurer: Fritz Kramer; editor: Madison S. Beeler; editorial board: E. C. Ehrensperger, Elisabeth K. Gudde, Atcheson L. Hench, Albert H. Marckwardt, Allen Walker Read, Francis L. Utley.

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The seventh annual meeting of the *ANS* will be held in Madison, Wisconsin, September 9th to 11th, 1957. Until the program committee will be appointed, communications concerning the meeting should be sent to Professor George R. Stewart, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley 4, Cal.

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Treasurer's Report for 1956

Income

Balance carried forward from 1955	$ 888.91
Dues collected in 1956	1710.50
Other income	163.20
	$2762.61

Expenditures

Office expenses, mimeographing, mailing, postage	$ 147.85
Printing of *Names*	1921.20
Mary Glide Goethe prize	100.00
Refund on subscription	10.00
	$2179.05

Income 1956	$2762.61
Expenditures 1956	2179.05
Cash on hand	$ 583.56

The above does not include the cost of the December issue.

Respectfully submitted

Fritz Kramer, Treasurer